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A SHORT HISTORY
OF THE
INDIAN PEOPLE

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

From the Earliest Times to
the Present Day

BY
TARA CHAND, M. P.
M.A. (ALLD.), D.PHIL. (OXON.)

FIFTH EDITION



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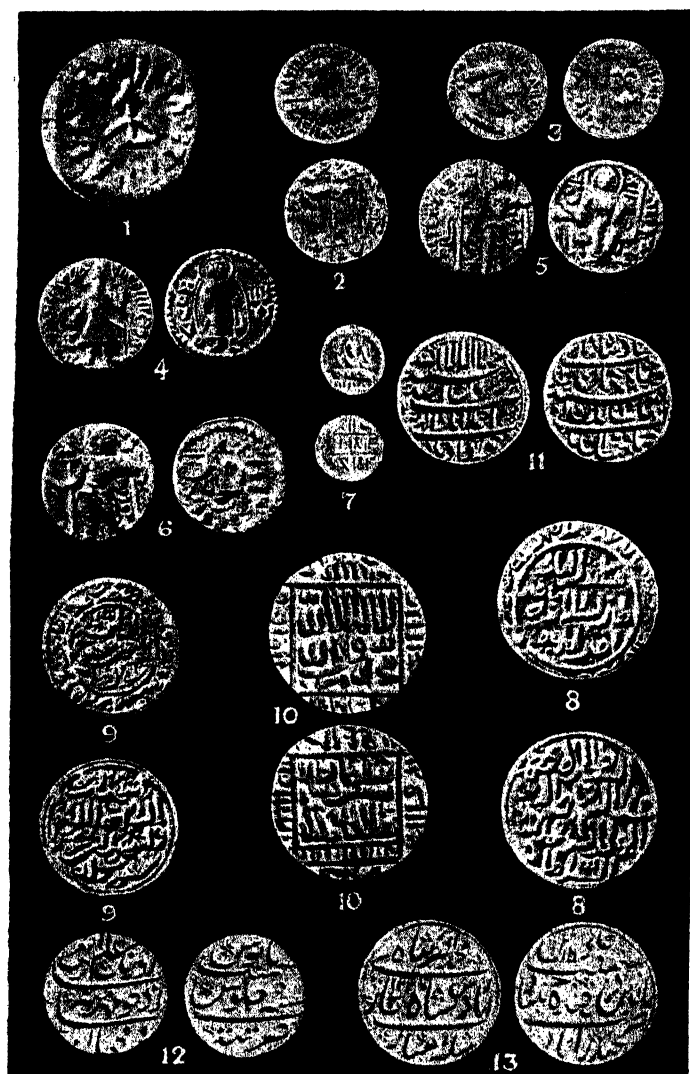
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INDIAN COINS

1. Satavahana: Gotamiputra Vilivayakura; 2. Menander;
3. Nahapana; 4. Kanishka; 5. Samudragupta; 6. Chandra-
- gupta II; 7. Vijayanagar: Krishna Deva Raya; 8. Alauddin;
9. Muhammad bin Tughluq; 10. Sher Shah; 11. Shah Jahan;
12. Aurangzeb; 13. Haidarabad.

PREFACE

A Short History of the Indian People is an essay in interpretation. An attempt has been made in this essay to set forth the one increasing purpose which gives meaning to the history of the Indian people, namely, the evolution of Indian unity. The progress has been by no means uniform. Judged by the standards of the West, the path traversed by India has been long, but the ultimate goal, howsoever obscure during the successive stages of the journey, appears from the vantage ground of to-day to have always been the attainment of a oneness of society and state comprehending the plurality of races, tribes, creeds and cultures. Aryan and Dravidian, Rajput and Turk, Hindu and Muslim, East and West have each contributed its particular share and the time spirit has been moulding them together to form an organic whole. The goal is not perhaps actually reached yet, but it is no longer far, and is not in doubt.

Considered from this point of view, the incidents in the travail of the people—their wars, conquests and defeats, their movements of religious reform and social reconstruction, their creative efforts in government, art and literature—acquire an importance in history which can only be comprehended in relationship to the process as a whole. Although ‘to understand all is to forgive all,’ yet unfortunately the interpretation of Indian history has suffered a great deal from lack of sympathetic insight and understanding on the part of many a writer.

It has been too often forgotten that in the evolution of India’s unity each period marks a stage, each state, dynasty and people constitutes a factor, and kings, generals, statesmen and saints act as instruments. The good and evil deeds of the rulers and the ruled form the warp and woof of the fabric of our Indian civilization. The ancient period of our history is of no less importance than the mediæval, for in both lie the roots of our modern life, and both are therefore equally worthy of our attention.

I have endeavoured to make this short history a history of the people. Not that the pomp and panoply of court and camp life have been neglected, but the life of the common people has received due attention, and changes in social systems and in economic conditions have been recorded. I have shown also how the fates of empires have hung not merely on the personal character of the crowned monarch, but also on the happiness and suffering of the humble peasant. Political events and governmental changes have not been allowed to monopolise the story; the development of art and letters, religion and philosophy has also been narrated. I have tried to make clear how material and mechanical changes have helped the social and moral transformation of the people, and how the two have created an Indian nation.

In this history the action of the Indian peoples fills the stage, and the doings of foreigners have received notice in accordance with their relative importance. Hence the invasions of the Persians, of the Greeks, of the Scythians and the Huns, and of the Ghaznavides have been treated as mere episodes. The modern period has been treated in the same manner. Here I have departed from the customary plan of dividing the history of British India in accordance with the terms of office of the Governors-General, and I have dealt with each aspect of history separately and in a continuous narrative. The Governors-General were not primarily responsible for their policies: they held office for short periods, and were agents of their masters in England. Therefore, to make the history of their years of office entirely dependent upon their personalities, is to ignore the larger factors responsible for the events and to mislead the students.

In the writing of this history I have received help from many friends. I have to thank Mr. Lautu Simha Gautama, of the Udaipratap Intermediate College, Banaras, who read the portion on the Ancient period and made many valuable suggestions for its improvement. Dr. Beni Prasad, Dr. Banarsi Prasad, Dr. Bisheswar Prasad and Mr. Gauri Shankar Chatterji, of the Allahabad University, also read portions of the manuscript and I am much indebted to them for their advice. I am deeply grateful to Mr. Parmananda who has placed me under a great obligation by reading the entire manuscript and by giving me the benefit of his wide knowledge and experience. Dr. Bisheswar Prasad has kindly prepared the index and the dynastic lists.

By the kindness of these friends many defects have been removed. But many remain; for these I alone am responsible. It is not an easy task to write a history of India. Few scholars have the necessary equipment for a first-hand knowledge of the authorities on all the periods. The materials for many periods are scanty and scattered in numerous journals and in the vast literature covering a period of over two thousand years, and written in a number of languages. Then, on many questions there is still no agreement among scholars. The chronology, especially of the Ancient period, is full of controversy, and conclusions relating to social and other developments must therefore remain tentative. It is difficult within the limits of a short history to reason upon facts at length, and I had, therefore, to content myself with a bare statement of the conclusions. This has perhaps imparted an air of dogmatic finality to my narrative, but this is wholly due to limitations of space. Only those who have had to wrestle with these difficulties can appreciate how enormous the task is, and all that I can do is to ask for the indulgence of the kind reader for my shortcomings.

My primary aim in writing this history is to supply a text-book for the High School classes. But I wished also to write a book for the general reader which would give an impartial account of India's past. I have endeavoured to write in an easy and simple style, and to make

the narrative clear with the usual aids of dividing the history into periods and sub-periods. I have supplied maps, illustrations and dynastic lists also.

K. P. University College, ALLAHABAD
October 7, 1933

TARA CHAND

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The second edition has been brought up to date and a brief account of the Government of India Act of 1935 has been included. Some minor changes, in order to make the narrative clearer and to remove inaccuracies, have been effected.

ALLAHABAD
April 17, 1936

TARA CHAND

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

The book has been entirely reset for this edition. Various minor corrections and additions have been made in the text, and there are two new maps. Dr. Bisheswar Prasad has also supplied material to bring the closing pages up to date.

1953

TARA CHAND

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

In presenting the fourth edition of the Short History I have taken the opportunity of revising the book and making the necessary corrections.

The book was originally written in 1933. Since then India has undergone great changes. India has at last attained the status of a sovereign and independent state and has become a member of the United Nations Organization.

Unfortunately independence has come at the expense of the unity of the country. The country was divided into two independent States in August 1947. From this date, therefore, the history of India must deal only with India, excluding the territories which constitute the State of Pakistan. The boundaries of India and Pakistan were fixed

by agreement between the Governments of the two countries. But the *Short History of the Indian People* has to deal with the country as a whole from the earliest times, and therefore no change has been made either in the Introduction dealing with the geography and population of India, or in the subsequent chapters. The term India is used for the entire Sub-Continent, including Pakistan. But in Section E of Chapter V, it has been found necessary to take into consideration the alterations in the boundaries of India made in consequence of the Partition in order to describe the incidents and developments which have taken place in the territory within these boundaries.

In the revision of the *Short History* I have received great help from Dr. R. K. Parmu. In the performance of this task he has devoted much valuable time. If the text has fewer mistakes it is entirely due to his painstaking efforts. I owe a debt of gratitude to him for the labour he undertook out of regard for me.

NEW DELHI
October 16, 1961

TARA CHAND

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION

The last revised edition of *A Short History of the Indian People* was published in 1961. Since then much new material has come to light concerning almost every period of Indian history. The Pre-historic period has been greatly affected. New sites have been discovered and the sequence of cultural strata and their chronology modified. The Ancient period dealing with the advent of the Aryans in India and their settlement in the different regions has also undergone some alteration. New information has been gathered concerning the dynasties of the Deccan and South India.

Although the outline of the story of the Middle Age has changed little, the tendency towards a more objective interpretation of the measures and policies of the medieval monarchs is gaining attention. The independence of India in 1947 and the struggle which led to it have rightly gained great importance. The period following the establishment of independence is naturally attracting interest as it reflects the changes in social, economic and political life in our own times consequent upon independence.

I have tried to incorporate the new information in the new revised edition. I have also tried to maintain a proper balance in the different divisions of the story. It has also been my endeavour to keep the narrative free from all biases in order that the young people who study this history may become aware of the unity of their motherland and of its common heritage. It must be remembered that in spite of the fact

that many races, religions and languages inhabit this country, the trend of development has been towards the attainment of political unity among people professing different faiths, speaking different languages, observing different customs and inhabiting different regions.

If this narrative promotes patriotism and love of all the people of India, it will have achieved its object. The strength and prosperity of the Indian nation and its moral and material progress largely depend upon the proper understanding of our history.

ALLAHABAD
August 27, 1969

TARA CHAND

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INTRODUCTION

The Influence of Geographical Features on History.—The history of a country is the record of the activities and achievements of its inhabitants. It describes the growth of their culture and civilisation, the varying fortunes of the peoples and governments and the deeds of their great men. The life and activity of men are related to the surroundings in which they live. Agriculture, industry and trade, routes of travel of merchants, pilgrims and armies, customs and institutions, social and political systems and intercourse with neighbouring lands and peoples are influenced by the geographical features. In order to understand the history of a people it is necessary, therefore, that we should know something about the extent and area of the country, the distribution of land and water, the nature of the soil and its products and the variations of climate. It must, however, be remembered that although geographical and climatic features influence history because they provide opportunities for man, man is more important than these factors, for he alone determines whether he will make use of them, adapt them to his needs, create civilisation and make progress, or neglect them and remain in a state of barbarism.

There is one other point which should not be forgotten. The environment of a people is always changing. The earth on which men live and from which they obtain their food, drink and materials for satisfying their numerous requirements is always undergoing change—ordinarily slowly but occasionally rapidly. Then climate and weather also vary. In some epochs the rainfall is heavy, snow covers the land, rivers become flooded, and the countries are gripped in damp and cold. Then follow dry seasons, rains decrease, rivers shrink and water becomes scarce. These fluctuations naturally affect the life of the people inhabiting the regions.

(a) **The Formation of the Indian Subcontinent**

The present physical features of India are the result of a vast series of changes which the earth has undergone through millions of years. There was a time many million years ago when a great part of India was under the sea, and the Deccan was part of a land mass which extended to the island of Madagascar in

the west. Then Ceylon was connected with the mainland and a chain of land bridges connected India with the islands of Indonesia and Australasia.

Later the Himalayan mountains rose in the north, the western land mass subsided under the ocean, and the eastern land bridges became submerged. Then the depression between the Himalayas and the Vindhya began to be filled up by the silt which the rivers like Ganga and Jamuna brought down from the mountains and the great plains of northern India were formed.

After the main features of land and water had been settled, changes of a minor character continued; for example, the sea which covered part of Rajputana receded and the Indus river extended its bed. Similarly the delta of Bengal was gradually formed. The river Saraswati, which at one time flowed across Rajputana into the sea, became lost in the desert.

(b) Climatic Changes

The climate of India has also changed along with the changes in the physical features. As the Indian subcontinent took shape, it experienced four ice ages and between them three dry periods. The last ice age came to an end about 20,000 years ago, and by this time the final touches were given to the shaping of India.

During the historic times also climatic conditions have not been always the same. In some periods rainfall has increased and in others decreased. It is, however, impossible to give a connected account of these changes because the facts of these remote years are still largely unknown. But the scientists have suggested that the historic period which may be reckoned from about 5,000 B.C. may be divided into four periods.

The first period, which is one of decreasing rainfall, commenced near 5,000 B.C. and lasted till about 2,200 B.C. Then began the period of increasing rainfall which ended about 1100 B.C. After this came the second period of decrease which continued from 1100 B.C. to A.D. 700. It was followed by the period of increasing rain which continues into the present times. Besides, within the longer periods there were shorter intervals during which rainfall oscillated within lower limits.

Thus, although the interval from about the 5th century B.C. to about A.D. 100 falls within the period of decreasing rainfall, rains were so plentiful then that the Caspian and the Aral seas were one, and the river Oxus discharged its water into them; the basin of Tarim, the lakes of Turfan and Lob Nor were full of

water; in Scistan the Helmund was an extensive sheet of water; Kashmir was so cold and moist that people could only live there in summer. Then, from the first century to about the seventh century, rainfall decreased, the lakes were reduced in size, their beds were utilised for villages, and their basins began to be deserted by men. Kashmir became dry and habitable.

In the next period, which lasted till about the eleventh century, rainfall increased again, lakes expanded, rivers filled up and the regions became more populated. But Kashmir became the abode of cold and snow and was isolated. In the eleventh century a period of aridity set in which lasted, with oscillations, till the fourteenth century. During the next three hundred years rains increased, but afterwards a sort of equilibrium appears to have been established which has occasionally been disturbed by years of excessive aridity and excessive rainfall.

It is difficult to say how far the rise into political importance of certain regions in certain periods of our history is due to climatic changes, but it is well established that the importance of the Indus valley and Rajputana has waxed and waned from time to time, and changes in climate probably account for it. The valley of Sindh appears to have undergone many changes. In the most ancient times it was the home of a highly developed civilisation. The Greek accounts show that the valley was peopled with civilised inhabitants, its climate was equable and its rivers fertilised the land. The Arabs in the eighth century found it surrounded with desert, although the valley was full of pleasant oases and cities. Bernier in the seventeenth century, and Hamilton and other European travellers in the eighteenth, experienced great drought, although in the fourteenth century the horses of Timur were destroyed by rains in Multan. The course of the Indus has changed a great deal during historic times, and the belt of the desert has advanced and receded with these changes.

There is no doubt that the whole of India has been affected by such climatic changes. Man himself has helped in making them. He has cut down forests, drained marshes, diverted the courses of rivers, created artificial lakes and thus interfered with nature. For example, the land east of the Sadanira (Rapti) river was known to have been reclaimed from swamps in the early times. The growth of population and the increase of man's power over natural forces have led him gradually to occupy more and more land, and to enhance the intensity of social life. The history of the people of India is a record of their efforts since the remote

past to tame the land, subdue the environment, and spread over the entire country, thus creating a human unity corresponding with the geographical unity.

(c) The Geography of India

Position in Asia.—The Indian subcontinent is geographically a unit. It is a part of the great continent of Asia, which is roughly divided into four regions—two high plateaus and two lowland plains. The plateaus are: (1) Western Asia, which extends from the Mediterranean Sea to the borders of India, and (2) Central Asia, which stretches from the Himalayas towards the north-east. The lowlands begin from the confines of the highlands. In the north is the lowland region of Siberia and the Aralo-Caspian basin, in the east China and Manchuria, in the west Mesopotamia, and in the south India. Of the three peninsulas which the Asiatic continent throws out towards the south, our country occupies the central position. On its three sides it is surrounded by sea, and on its northern frontier the mountains, which rise to great heights, separate it from the countries of Asia.

The Frontiers of India.—India is a peninsula which is surrounded on three sides by seas and on the north by mountains. The mountain barrier of the subcontinent consists of the Himalayan range and its offshoots. On the western side it separates the valley of the Indus from the highlands of Persia, Seistan, Makran and Baluchistan by means of the Kirthar, Sulaiman and Safed Koh ranges; further north the Hindukush and its spurs protect the frontier. Between Kashmir and Turkestan stand the mountain masses of the Pamirs and Karakoram. The stupendous ranges of the Himalayas, which radiate from the Pamirs, extend along the whole northern frontier of India from the Indus to the Brahmaputra. They rise into peaks of dizzy heights and are studded with magnificent forests which effectively part the tableland of Tibet from India. On the eastern extremity, where the Brahmaputra flows round the foot of the Himalayas to join the Ganga, the mountains also fold round, run from north to south and form a chain of hills running parallel to one another. They divide Eastern Bengal and Assam from Burma, and consist of the Patkoi, the Naga, the Jaintia, the Khasi and Garo, the Lushai and Arakan Yoma hills.

The Mountain Passes.—The chain of high mountains which separates the subcontinent from the rest of Asia forms an almost continuous rampart for the protection of the country. There

are, however, gaps in the chain which constitute the landward gates through which India communicates with its neighbours. Starting from the west the first gap is between the Kirthar hills and the sea coast, through which lies the route along the southern coast of Baluchistan. The Bolan Pass opens the way from Herat, Kandahar and Quetta to the Indus valley between the Kirthar and Sulaiman ranges. The streams of Gomul and Kurram cut their way through the mountains to join the Indus and create passages to Afghanistan; but the most celebrated of all the gateways of India, on the north-western border, is the Khyber Pass which leads from Kabul to Peshawar. It is situated over the spur of the hill which flanks the chasm through which the Kabul river flows into the Indus. Over Kashmir and the northern borders the passes are so rugged and so elevated, that possibilities of intercourse with the countries beyond, i.e., Turkestan, China and Tibet, are most meagre. Again, the eastern hills are covered with dense forests, and make India inaccessible from that quarter.

The western coast of India from Kutch to Kanyakumari is washed by the Arabian Sea. The Indian Ocean touches the southern and the Bay of Bengal the eastern coasts.

Size and Divisions.—Enclosed within the well-defined framework of the mountains and the seas lies India. It is a vast territory more than half the size of all Europe. This great land is made up of seven divisions:

(1) The mountain region consists of three parts—the western, the central and the eastern. The western part contains Kashmir and Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh and Kumaon. The central part covers Nepal, Sikkim, Darjeeling and Bhutan. The eastern part includes Assam and the hill areas of the North Eastern Frontier Agency which is connected with the eastern region of Nagaland, Manipur, Cachar and Mizo hills.

The Himalayan mountains connect India with Asian countries through difficult passes on the west and the east, like the Khyber. They are also the source of the rivers which irrigate and fertilize the plains of northern India.

(2) The great northern plains include the Punjab and Rajasthan in the West, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in the centre and Bengal in the east.

(3) The Central Uplands are a hilly territory which divides the northern plains from the plateaus and coastal plains of the Deccan. They consist of the Aravalli range, Eastern Rajasthan,

Madhya Bharat, Bundelkhand and below them Malwa, the Vindhya range and the Narmada valley.

(4) The peninsular plateaus consist of four subdivisions—(i) Western Ghats or Sahyadris, which extend from the Satpura range southwards to the Palghat gap and then continue in the Southern Ghats; (ii) the north Deccan plateaus, that is, Andhra Pradesh or Telangana and Karnatak; (iii) the eastern plateaus viz., Baghelkhand and Chhota Nagpur, and (iv) the Eastern ghats which extend from Orissa discontinuously to the Nilgiris where the Eastern Ghats meet the Sahyadri.

(5) The East Coast is a wide plain between the Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal. It contains the deltas of the rivers Mahanadi, Godavari, Krishna, and Kaveri.

(6) The West Coast is a narrow belt between Sahyadri and Arabian sea, which runs from Surat to Kanyakumari. In the north lie the peninsulas of Kutch and Kathiawar and towards the south the coasts of Konkan, Karnatak, and Kerala.

(7) The islands which dot the seas surrounding India include the Andamans and Nicobars of the Bay of Bengal, and the Amindivi, Laccadive and Minicoy of the Arabian Sea.

Climate.—Within the borders of our country there is every variety of landscape, scenery, climate and natural product. Its mountains surpass the other mountains of the world in grandeur; their lofty summits are covered with eternal snows and their higher valleys are filled with rivers of ice. Their lower reaches are clothed with thick green forests where plants, trees and animals of numerous varieties abound. In the plains there are extremes of temperature and fertility. We have hot, arid, sandy deserts on the one side; on the other side we have rich and productive plains irrigated by streams and rivers with plentiful supplies of water and with humid air laden with vapour. The plains alternate with wild hilly regions and tablelands. The continuous sea-shore is indented here and there with safe harbours which accommodate the heaviest men-of-war, but on the whole it slopes gently down to a surf which will not permit the approach of any but the lightest vessels that float upon the sea.

We have a variety of seasons, from the extremely hot to the bitterly cold. During the rains the sky is overcast with thick black clouds which bring nourishment to the soil and delight to the hearts of the millions of its cultivators. The blazing sun and the hot winds of summer dull the pace of our activities and oblige us during the day to seek refuge within doors, but the nights,

which are usually cool, and the wonderful starlit skies under which we gather to talk and sleep, make us forget the trials of the day. Our winter comes with smiling fields of corn, bright variegated colours of fruit and flower, cool bracing winds and enchanting nights. It replenishes and invigorates us.

Products.—The vegetable and animal life of India is varied. We have forests in the mountains filled with evergreen trees, and forests on the lower slopes of the Himalayas and the Deccan nurtured by the monsoons. They give us valuable timber for building. Where the forests end and the rains are scantier, we have plains which produce rice, wheat and grains, fruits, and other articles of food. This rich plant life supports an equally rich animal life. The mountains, forests and plains teem with insects, birds and beasts. Some of them are noxious and dangerous to human life, and the others beneficent and serviceable. Amidst the ice-capped mountain ranges there are tracts of stillness whose silence is scarcely broken by the sound of animal life, but in the rest of the country the land is kept resounding constantly with melodious or discordant notes.

Below the surface which supports this abundant life lie hidden sources of great wealth. Among the old rocks of the Deccan we have gold, copper, tin, zinc, manganese, iron and coal. Coal and other minerals are found in other parts of India too. The rocks of the south and the Vindhya supply precious stones and diamonds. We have plenty of building stone, including granite, sandstone and marble. Mineral oil is found in many parts of India.

(d) The Geographical Unity of India

India is full of variety, richness and contrasts. But in spite of these it is geographically a single region; the northern mountain wall and the encircling seas give it a unity which is hardly broken by the low chains of internal hills and the broad slow-moving rivers. This unity provides the background for the development of a common civilisation.

The Himalayas.—The Himalayas play a most important part in the unification of India. The rivers of the north, which bring fertility and plenty to the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal, from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, take their rise in them. In fact the corn-producing rich plains may be said to be their peculiar gift. The Himalayan barrier intercepts and directs the rain-laden clouds which the monsoons drive across

the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, and benefit the whole of India by their precipitation. It turns back the fierce blasts of the cold sand-strewing winds from Tibet and beyond, and maintains the equability of our temperature. In short, the climate of India, its temperature, its winds and rain, the produce of its fields and the activities of its people, are greatly influenced by the Himalayas, and that is the reason why the Hindu traditions attach so much importance to them, and why our art and literature are so deeply influenced by them.

The Rivers.—The rivers are the great highways of commerce and travel. They join the different parts of the country with one another. The Indus and its affluents make the Punjab and Sindh one, and the Ganga and its affluents unite Northern India from Rajputana to Assam. South of the great central plains the Narmada and Tapti flow west to the Arabian sea draining the uplands. The peninsula is irrigated by many rivers which arise in the Sahyadris and cutting through the Eastern Ghats empty themselves in the Bay of Bengal. On their banks and at their mouths great cities, which have been centres of wealth, refinement and power, have grown up.

The Roads.—The natural routes of communication which bind the country together and promote intercourse between one part and the other, and therefore stimulate the growth of culture, have been determined by the physical features of our land.

Among these lines of communication three are important. The first is the ancient Northern Road (Uttarpatha). It started from Kabul, the meeting-place of roads from Central Asia and Iran, followed the Kabul river, passed over Jalalabad and the confluence of the Swat and Kabul rivers to Ohind or over the Khyber to Peshawar, crossed the Indus at Takshashila (Taxila), then skirted along the hills from which the rivers of the Punjab emerge so as to cross them where they are shallowest. It proceeded from Peshawar to Jhelum, then to Sialkot, crossed the Beas somewhere near Gurdaspur, the Sutlej at Rupar and then turned south passing through the narrow neck of land between the Jamuna on the one side and the Rajputana desert on the other. After crossing the Jamuna at Delhi it proceeded by way of Bulandshahr, Kampil (near Farrukhabad), Kanauj to Prayag (Allahabad), avoiding the southern affluents of the Jamuna. From Prayag it went to Kashi (Varanasi) and then ran along the right bank of the Ganga to Pataliputra (Patna), then to Rajmahal, where the Ganga

INTRODUCTION

turns southwards into Bengal, and reached the sea by way of Monghyr, Champa and Gangasagar.

The second is the ancient Southern Road (Dakshinapatha) which started from Kapilavastu (the birthplace of Buddha) on the borders of Nepal. It passed Sravasti (Sahet Mahet) the ancient capital of Kosala on the Rapti river, crossed the Sarju at Ayodhya, the Ganga somewhere above Allahabad, the Jamuna at Kausambi (Kosam), struck the Vindhyas at Bharhut, then clinging to the hills in order to avoid the crossing of rivers where they join the Jamuna, it proceeded to Besnagar or Vidisa (Bhilsa, near Bhopal) and Ujjain. Here it turned southwards, crossed the Narmada at Mahishmati (Mandhata) and the Tapti near Burhanpur and entered the Deccan plateau. Keeping to the headwaters of the rivers it led to Pratisthana (Paithan) on the Godavari, thence to the Raichur Doab between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, and across eastern Mysore to Madura.

The third was the Central Road from east to west. From Bengal (Gangasagar, Champa, Monghyr) it went to Pataliputra, then to Kashi, Prayag, Kausambi, Bharhut, Bhilsa and Ujjain. From Ujjain one route led to Bhrigukachha (Broach) on the sea coast, and the other to the Indus and across the river through Makran (southern Baluchistan) to the west.

Besides these great routes, there were branch roads which joined cities with cities, and countries with countries. These roads were not metalled like the modern roads, but were pathways whose surface was hardened by the constant traffic of men, beasts and carts. It was the endeavour of the rulers to provide conveniences along the routes—trees to protect travellers from the sun, wells for drinking water and houses for rest.

The routes of travel also determined the position of the fields of battle. Panipat is situated on the Northern Road at the point where it passed through the narrow neck between the desert of Rajputana on the one side and the Jamuna on the other. Here were fought the great battles which decided the fates of the Indian empires. Another spot on this road is the Sakrigali (narrow path). Here the road passes between the Ganga and the Rajmahal hills, and affords a naturally strong position for resisting the march of invaders into Bengal.

Towns grow up where rivers are crossed, for the river front protects them from enemies, and the river can be used for the transport of men and goods. Taxila, Sialkot, Lahore, Kanauj,

Allahabad, Varanasi and numerous other cities are the gifts of rivers.

(e) **The Cultural Unity of India**

India is a vast country which stretches from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean. It covers an area of nearly 3.3 million square kilometres. North to south it is 3,200 kilometres long and east to west, 3,000 kilometres wide. In this great land there is a variety of climate, natural scenery, high mountains, hills, river valleys, green forests and arid deserts. It has a long coast-line with many ports and anchorages.

India is geographically one, separated from other countries by well marked frontiers, but it occupies such a large area that its parts form different regions in which people have lived and worked, speaking their own languages, following their own customs and organising their own economic, social and political systems. In old times when the population was small, the land was covered with forests, roads were few, rivers were large and full and bridges almost unknown, intercourse between the regions was difficult and their inhabitants were isolated from one another. It was natural that there were many independent societies and states, which were united together only when a great emperor established his suzerainty.

But although political unity was attained rarely, a broadly common culture spread over the whole of India. In all regions the educated classes learnt Sanskrit, which was also the language of the states during many centuries. The Hindu religion which comprised many sects and forms of worship was the religion of the people. In art, literature, music and other domains of culture there was much similarity.

During the Middle Ages several groups of people came from the central and western regions of Asia and settled in India. They brought with them a new religion—Islam, the Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages, new arts, crafts and sciences. They had a different social system and their own laws. Although they had come from foreign lands they made India their home. They broke away from the states to which they originally belonged and they established independent states in India. They continued to follow their religion and observe their laws, but in other respects they mixed with the Hindus. They spoke Indian languages, adopted Indian manners of living, exercised the same arts and crafts, and resided as neighbours in towns and villages. There was

thus considerable intermingling of the two communities and a great advance towards the evolution of a common culture.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the British began to establish their dominion in India and in a hundred years brought the whole country under their sway. They remained aloof from the people and refused to adopt the country as their home. But they gave an entirely new turn to the mind, society and culture of India. The British systems of administration, laws and justice bound all people together, Indian economy was changed and Indians learnt the western ways of thinking, western science and technical processes. The growth of railways, roads and other means of communication brought the people together.

Under the impact of British culture a new consciousness of unity and nationality was born and a new sense of loyalty to the country and love of the people grew.

The unity of India is founded upon the harmony of the many races that dwell in the country, the many languages, that they speak, the many religions which they profess and the varied cultures which they pursue.

(f) The Periods of Indian History

The history of man in India goes back to extremely remote times. In fact, it is the opinion of some scientists that the human race was probably evolved in India. If this is true, the history of our country begins from the first appearance of man upon earth. 'Since then the Indian people alone of the peoples of the various countries of the earth have been progressing, without interruption, in handicraft, physical science applied to manual industries, art work on wood, stone and ivory, social amelioration and religious experience.'

Whether India was the country where the human race began and from where it spread into other regions of the globe or not, she certainly became, in later ages, the centre towards which the races of mankind were attracted. From early times many tribes came to our country and settled here. They brought with them their social characteristics, their languages, customs, and cultures, and they mingled with the original inhabitants and those that had come before them. The history of India is a record of the process of fusion of these races and cultures—a process which began in the dim distant past and has culminated in the present age.

The history of our country may be divided into five periods.

The first period begins with the appearance of man in India. Its record consists of stone and metal tools, weapons and ornaments, pottery, human and animal remains in graves and paintings on rocks and in caves. During this period man was slowly emerging from savagery to barbarism. It lasted till about 3500 B.C. and is known as the Prehistoric Age.

The second period extends from the close of the Prehistoric Age to the middle of the seventh century B.C. During this period the earliest civilisations of India developed, and the Aryans came and spread their language and culture. The sources of the history of this age are the remains of ancient monuments and the traditions enshrined in the ancient Sanskrit literature. This may be called the Age of Aryan Settlements.

The third period of Indian history begins in the sixth century B.C. and ends with the seventh century A.D. During this period a number of new tribes came to India and became mixed with its inhabitants; new civilisations and religions grew and decayed, and the first empires rose and fell. This is the Ancient Age of our history, and its story is based on the records of foreign travellers and writers, inscriptions, coins, monumental and literary remains.

With the advent of the Muslims in India in the seventh century, the fourth period begins. It ends with the downfall of the Mughal Empire and the establishment of British rule in India. The sources of its history are mainly Persian chronicles, narratives of travellers who visited the country during this period, literary works in Indian languages, coins and inscriptions. This period is known as the Middle Age of India.

With the close of the Middle Age in the eighteenth century, the fifth or the Modern Age of our history begins. The main achievements of this age are the unification of India under a single government, the development of Indian civilisation under western influences, the rise of the national consciousness and the attainment of independence.

CHAPTER I

THE PRE-HISTORIC AGE

The object of history is to describe how men lived in the past and how and what changes took place in their ways of living. History also attempts to understand what men thought in different periods about religion and God, about nature and about man himself as an individual and as a member of society. Man practised arts and crafts. He cultivated the land to raise crops and made tools and weapons for industry and war and hunting. He loved music and dance, poetry, painting and objects of beauty. History seeks to inform us about all these matters.

It is interesting to know when men appeared upon the earth where and how they lived and worked and when and how they migrated to the different regions of the earth. It is surmised that the first man evolved from some kind of an ape. Man continued in the primitive state for a very very long time. Long ages came and went and gradually men changed their ways of living. In the primitive state not very different from the state of animals, man wandered about in search of food. Then he improved the conditions of living, he began to grow food, build villages and tame animals. This stage is called the barbaric state.

Time came when further progress was made, metals began to be used, societies were organised, governments were established. Then writing was invented, knowledge gathered and literature created. Slowly population increased, wealth accumulated and arts and crafts grew. Thus man became civilized. The last period of the beginning of civilization is not very old. It goes back from 4000 to 3000 B.C.

The historian tries to collect information regarding the different periods of developments from savagery to civilization. But the materials for writing their history become more and more scanty as he proceeds towards earlier times. This material consists of the remains of articles made by man, relics of his activities and of his industry.

For the earliest periods the material consists of tools and implements principally of stone. But as man progresses he makes earthen and metal objects which escape destruction and so more

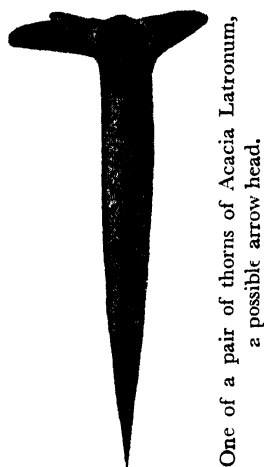
material becomes available throwing light upon his activities. In the civilized period written documents come to the aid of the historian in his search for knowledge.

(a) **The Early Stone Age**

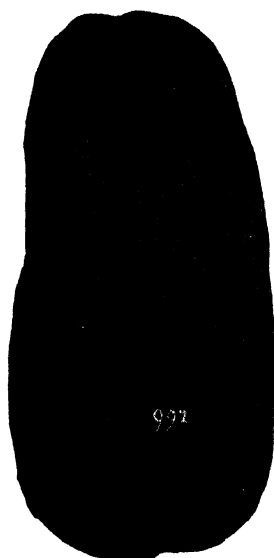
In very early times men were living in India in different parts. The remains of their tools have been found in the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Andhra, Tamilnad, Mysore, Maharashtra, Konkan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Malwa and Rajputana, that is almost all over India. In those remote ages men roamed about in search of food—roots, fruits and animals. These food gathering men lived in river valleys and on the verge of forests. They picked up pebbles and lumps of stones from the river banks and made rough stone tools which served as hand axes, cleavers and choppers, for cutting up meat or wood, or digging, pounding and chopping. The tools were very crude and were formed by striking off chips from the pebbles or other stones. The people who used these tools are called men of the Old Stone Age. They appear to have arrived in India from East Africa.

The remains of the Old Stone Age have been recovered mainly from the valleys of rivers—e.g. Sohan river, a tributary of the Jhelum in the Punjab, the Sabarmati in Rajputana, the Jamuna in Uttar Pradesh, the Narmada flowing in Central India and the Godavari and the rivers flowing through the Eastern Ghats to the Bay of Bengal.

After some thousands of years had elapsed the Old Stone Age culture gave way to what is known as the Middle Stone Age. The men of this age made different types of tools and implements. The main types of the tools were scrapers, blade points, arrow heads, borers. They could be used singly or in combination for throwing and piercing in hunting, digging the earth, pounding corn, scraping skins and catching fish. The tools were small in size and ordinarily made of flakes. They are also scattered in many parts of India. It is not known where these men came from, but they were also hunters who lived on game, besides forest fruits and other products. They buried their dead, laying their head facing the west or the east. They placed large stones near the head of the dead body. They seemed to believe in magic. They had discovered the way of making fire either by the friction of sticks or stones. Fire was used for cooking, clearing forests by burning, and frightening wild animals. Their dress consisted of



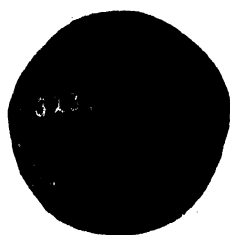
One of a pair of thorns of *Acacia Latronum*,
a possible arrow head.



Axe; Archaean Schist.
Broad axe type—prototype
of the Iron Axe.



Neoliths.



Disc.



Disc.



Mealing trough made of
grey granite.



Pygmy Flake.
Blade with stout-
worked back, chal-
cedony.



Chisel.

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dried hides which had been scraped, or of leaves joined together. But they had no permanent houses and lived a nomadic life, although they practised some crude type of agriculture.

(b) The New Stone Age

After many centuries a new culture began to spread in the country, known as the culture of the New Stone Age. It differed from its predecessor in many ways. Men of this culture began to produce their food instead of merely gathering it. They acquired good skill in tool making, prepared them from new materials—stone and bone, by new methods, polished them and gave them fine shapes. They practised agriculture, and kept animals like the cow, sheep, goat, pigs and dogs. They also discovered fire and the use of the potter's wheel. They lived in wooden houses and formed social groups which had fixed places of residence. They were no longer nomads and hunters only.

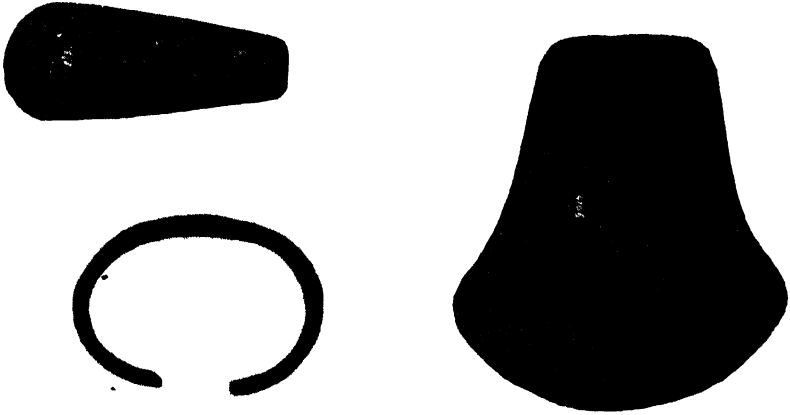
In the early stages they were not familiar with smelting of metals, but later they learnt the technical process for producing copper and bronze. Then they passed from the stone to the bronze age.

(c) The Bronze Age

The stone age culture appeared in many parts of India. Its earliest remains in which bronze was absent were found in eastern India—Assam, Bengal and Bihar and also in Kashmir. But stone tools and bronze objects have come from southern India—Karnatak, north-western India—Baluchistan, and Gujarat. In the other regions of India, e.g. Maharashtra, Malwa, Sindh, Punjab and Saurashtra, Rajasthan and Ganga Jamuna Doab, there were other sites of this culture.

For many centuries the Stone Age culture continued to exist in several parts of India. But then about the middle of the third millennium B.C., about 4500 years ago, suddenly a new culture spread in the north-western region of the country. The remains of this culture have been excavated in Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab—western and eastern, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Kathiawar, Saurashtra and Gujarat. Similar but somewhat different cultural objects have been obtained from elsewhere. In eastern India—Assam, Bengal and Bihar, stone was the principal material used, and metals were unknown. In south-eastern India—Karnatak, western and central India—Maharashtra and Malwa, and at

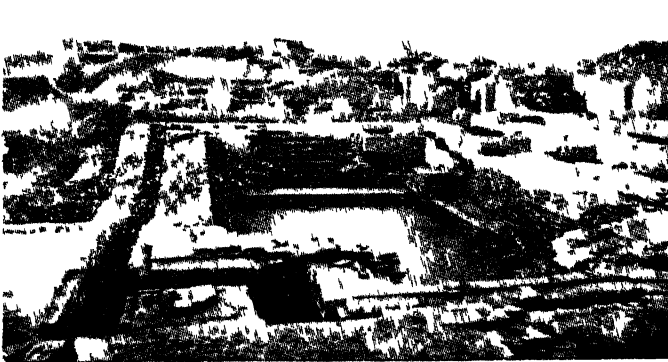
other sites, along with stone implements, articles made of copper and bronze were discovered.



Copper and Iron Instruments

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Among these widespread territories the culture of the north-western regions was the most interesting and the most advanced. This culture has been named Harappan after the name of the city



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Mohenjodaro: the Great Bath as seen from the south-west.

which yielded a very rich treasure of articles. Harappa was situated on the bank of the Ravi river, south of Lahore. Another important city centre was Mohenjodaro on the Indus which was the place of the first settlement of the people who developed this culture.

Unlike the makers of earlier cultures who lived in villages, the Harappans were builders of and dwellers in cities. They planned them carefully. The cities were divided into two parts—the citadel and the residential quarter—the first on the higher ground and the second on the level plain. The streets and lanes were laid out in straight lines. The houses were built of burnt bricks, and gypsum and bitumen were used as binding materials. Some of the buildings were quite large. The citadels were parallelograms of roughly 400 yards length from north to south and 200 yards width from east to west and large granaries were situated in them. A public bath, a collegiate building and a pillared hall adorned the city of Mohenjodaro. The Bath was 180 by 158 feet and of quadrangular form. It contained a swimming pool in the middle and galleries and rooms ran on all sides. The water of the bath was drained off by means of a covered drain through which a man could walk easily. The College building was a massive structure, of two or more storeys. Every house had its bath room, and excellent sanitary arrangements were provided.

Arts and Crafts.—The art of brick making and baking was well advanced. For making bricks moulds were used, for baking

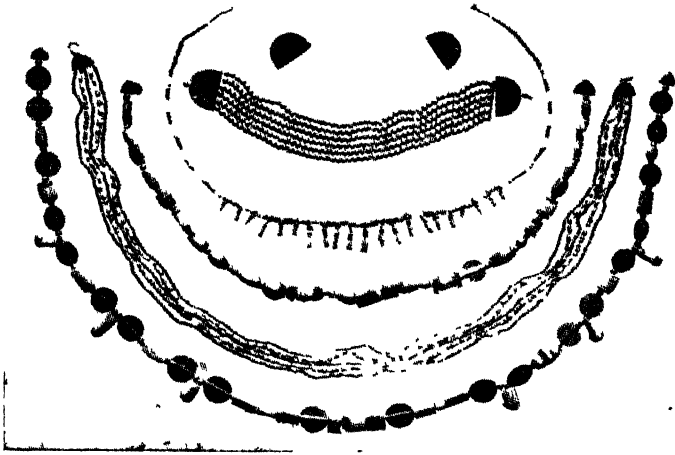


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Types of large vases, etc., containing bones of animals, birds, fishes, etc., found at Harappa.

fuel was cut by woodsmen and hauled in carts to the city. Masons and carpenters carried out the work of construction.

Among the other craftsmen were potter, weaver, goldsmith, jeweller, ivory worker, stone cutter and metal worker. Pottery was turned on the potter's wheel and was plain or painted and was fired in kilns. A large variety of household utensils were prepared.



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Mohenjodaro Jewellery.

Among the implements and tools were axes, knives, sickles, razors, chisels, and saws of copper and bronze. The weapons included axes, spears, daggers, maces and strings. Bows and arrows and swords were scarce.

The Harappans wore clothes made of cotton and wool. They were fond of ornaments which were worn both by men and women, and were made of gold, silver, ivory, copper and stones. Their children played with toys—whistles, rattles, wheeled rams, models of men, animals and birds.

Economic Life.—Agriculture was the main occupation of these people. They produced wheat, barley and cotton, both for their own consumption and for trade. Bullock carts were used for transport. Their trade within India appears to have been brisk. But they traded with foreign countries also. The evidence of trade is furnished by a large number of seals which were employed by merchants and of weights and measures.

A picture and a line of characters was engraved on the seals. These characters show that writing was known to these people, but unfortunately they have not yet been deciphered and so their language and contents are not known.

The Harappan seals and other objects have been discovered in the distant lands of the Persian Gulf, in Baluchistan, Mesopotamia (Iraq) and Iran. The articles which were exported con-



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Signs of the Indus Script.

sisted of cotton cloth, precious stones, ivory, grain. In return they imported metals—copper, tin and lead, and precious stones.

Religion.—Not much is known about the religion of the Harappans. No shrines or temples have been discovered. They probably followed the cult of Mother Goddess which was prevalent in many parts of the ancient world. They also worshipped the god Siva and the common people worshipped animals, trees, fire and water. They disposed of the dead bodies by burial.

Society and State.—The Harappans had established an advanced type of culture. Their cities were carefully built to provide facilities and comforts for the citizens and were apparently well regulated. Their industries were varied. The products of

agriculture and arts brought them much wealth. Their trade was extensive. Their buildings, household goods and economy point to a society which was divided into classes of rulers, peasants and artisans and slaves.

Nor could such a society continue to live and work without a government which maintained public order and peace—necessary conditions of civilised life.

Decay and destruction.—The culture which had made its first appearance in the third millenium B.C. was peculiar as it continued from the beginning to the end for more than a thousand years without much change. About 1800 B.C. signs of decline begin to show and by 1500 B.C. it practically ceased to exist. It left behind some of its elements which were absorbed by the civilisations which followed. But the causes of its destruction are not precisely known.

CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF ARYAN SETTLEMENTS

(a) The Early Vedic Age

Pre-Aryan inhabitants.—Before the Aryans entered India the country was peopled by a number of races. Apparently these migrated to India at different periods and from different lands. The builders of the Harappan bronze culture and of the stone cultures before them came and settled in different parts. Those who arrived later either absorbed them or drove them from their settlements into other regions.

It is difficult to say who were the earliest immigrants. According to some they were a race of people who originally lived in the eastern parts of Africa from where they migrated and some of them arrived in India. They are designated Negritos. They have left few remains behind for they have merged completely in the people of India. However, some of the words of the Indian languages, some physical features and some cultural traits seem to have been derived from them. Some primitive tribes living in the Andaman islands are descended from them.

Another group of people who entered India early and who constitute a basic element in our population are called Austriacs. Their language is spoken today by such tribes as Mundas, Kols, Santhals and Khasis. They have entered not only into the composition of the Indian people, but also influenced culture and language. It is not definitely known where they came from, but Austric languages are widely spread in South-East Asia to Australia.

The third group of India's inhabitants belongs to the family of the Mongol race. Such are some of the tribes of the north-eastern frontier and Assam—e.g., Mishmis, Abors, Daflas, Nagas and others. They came from Tibet-Chinese region.

The fourth racial constituent of our people is Dravidian. In old days they spread probably all over India, as is witnessed by our culture and bodily features. The main Dravidian groups today occupy the South of India—Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Mysore and Kerala. Some forest tribes like the Gonds speak a Dravidian dialect.

The last racial element in the Indian population is Aryan. Their original home is vaguely described as the vast territory stretching between the Aral sea in the east and the Caspian sea on the west. This Central Asian region is an extensive steppe land where many Aryan tribes speaking the dialects of the Aryan speech lived for many centuries. Then, either because of changes in climate and drying up of the land or increase of population and lack of sufficient food or for some other reason, they began to move out and travel in different directions in the third millenium B.C.

Some of the tribes went due west and settled in European countries, others migrated southwards into Turkey and Iran, and still others travelled southeastwards into Afghanistan and Sistan and from there through the passes—Khyber, Gomal, Bolan and others, into India. It is the opinion of historians that the tribes came in waves spread over a long period of time, between 1500 to 1000 B.C.

The Aryans were a primitive people who lived partly by agriculture and partly by pasture. They were therefore a semi-nomadic race. In appearance they were tall, of fair complexion, with straight prominent noses and with both long and round heads. They spoke languages from which the modern European languages and the Asian languages like Persian, Sanskrit and modern Indian spoken languages—Hindi, Bengali, Oriya, Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi and Urdu are derived.

The Aryan tribes settled in the different parts of the Punjab, but their most important settlements were in the country between the rivers Saraswati and Drishadvati. The Saraswati today has shrunk into a small stream which disappears in the sands of Rajputana. Drishadvati is identified by some with Ghaggar and by others with Chitang. This region roughly lies between the Sutlej and Jamuna, and was known as the Brahmavarta Desh.

In this region the earliest sacred books of the Hindus were compiled—the Rig Veda and the other three Vedas, viz., Sama, Yajur and Atharva. The Rig Veda consists of hymns and prayers which were recited at the sacrifices—Yajnas. The Sama Veda only repeats the hymns of the Rig Veda arranged for the purpose of ritual. The Yajur Veda contains prose and verse formulas for recitation at sacrifices, and the Atharva Veda consists of spells, charms, etc.

Although their sacred literature sheds no light on history and does not deal with society and state it does contain hints and

statements from which we gather some information about the life of the people.

The early settlements.—The scene of activity of the Vedic tribes in the first period lay in the lands watered (1) by the seven rivers—Kabul, Indus, Jhelum (Vitasta), Chenab (Asikni), Ravi (Parushni), Bias (Vipasa), and Sutlej (Shutudru); and (2) by the rivers Saraswati and Drishadvati. They knew also the upper reaches of the Ganga.

Some of these tribes occupied the border lands from Afghanistan to Sindh. Some stayed on the banks of the Indus, others including the important Purus, lived on the banks of the Ravi. The Bharatas with their allies the Tritsus lived between the Saraswati and the Jamuna. The Rig Veda refers to some historical incidents, e.g., the destruction of the Vrichivants and Turvasas by the Tritsu tribe—either a branch or ally of the Bharatas; the defeat of the ten hostile tribes including the Aryan Purus, by Sudasa a Bharata king, the victory of Sudasa over non-Aryan chiefs; the battles between Divodasa against Aryan and non-Aryan kings.

In this period of the migration and settlement of the tribes the adventurous Aryans conquered territories in north-western India and then spread southeastwards. But there was much rivalry among the tribes. Their strife led to the destruction of some tribes, the merger of some and the migration of others. One important example is the formation of the Kurus from the merger of Bharatas and Purus. Although they quarrelled among themselves, their principal enemies were the people who were living in India since the earlier times and who had established well organised societies and states. Some of them were more highly civilized than the Aryans, for example, the Harappans. The Aryans displaced or absorbed many of them, some of the latter took refuge in the hills and forests, but some became serfs or slaves, and had to serve their masters. They were Dasas or Dasyus, later Shudras and untouchables.

The accounts of the intertribal wars, conquests and rise and fall of dynasties given in the Puranas and the two epics—Ramayana and Mahabharata, are largely legendary. They are very confused and facts and fiction are so much mixed that although attempts have been made to extract some chronological history out of them the narrative cannot be regarded reliable. A famous incident of this legendary history is the well known war between the Kurus and Pandus which is the special theme of the Mahabharata epic poem. The other is the

equally famous story of the deeds of Sri Rama, King of Ayodhya.

The culture of the early Vedic Age

Society.—The Aryan people included many tribes. Each tribe had its own independent social organisation and government. Each tribe consisted of a number of clans and families. Some families led in migration and war, others prayed for their success and for averting calamities and propitiating gods. They performed sacrifices, chanted hymns, cured diseases and officiated at religious ceremonies on occasions like marriage, birth and death. But the main body tended cattle, cultivated lands, practised handicrafts, and fought as soldiers. When the Dasas were subdued they were assigned lowly tasks. At first the distinctions between these classes were not rigid, but before the first phase was over, the four main classes or Varnas—Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra, had become defined and also some castes based upon occupation were formed, like carpenters, smiths, potters, weavers, etc. Thus the tribe or the *jana* consisted of a chief (*Rajan*) and his kinsmen, the priestly families, the people (*visa*) made up of a number of groups (*grama* or villages), and the artisans and servants.

The family was the unit of society and it included members of several generations who lived together. The oldest living member, grandfather or father or brother, was the head of the family who controlled the household. Property was held in common, each earning member gave his earnings to the head, who looked after the needs of all.

Women were mainly concerned with domestic duties, but they moved about freely, were educated and trained. Child marriages were unknown and widows were permitted to remarry. Among the Kshatriya nobles the free choice of a husband (*Swayamvara*) by a girl was allowed. Women participated in religious ceremonies.

The Aryans wore garments made of cotton, wool and skin and adorned their ladies with ornaments of gold. Their food consisted of vegetables, fruits, milk, grain and meat. They drank intoxicating liquors. They were fond of hunting, races, dance, music, and gambling.

Economic life.—The people lived in villages where their main occupations were cattle raising and agriculture. They cultivated the land with ploughs drawn by oxen, and raised

crops of *dhana* and *yava* (rice and barley). Among animals reared and used by them the horse and the cow were most important, the horse for military and the cow for domestic purposes. Among the artisans were iron and bronze smiths, weavers, tanners, leather workers, tailors, potters who made the painted grey ware and northern black and red ware. There were also carpenters and chariot makers.

The merchants traded within the country and also with foreign countries. The cow and the gold pieces (*nishka*) served as means of exchange. Probably coins had not come into use and much of the trade was done by barter.

Political organisation.—The tribe or *jana* was ruled by a chief known as *Rajan Vishpati* or *Gopa*. The *Rajan* or king was a hereditary ruler; he was the leader in war and protector of the people. He was assisted by a priest (*Purohit*) who gave advice. Then there was an army commander (*Senani*) under the king. The state had two councils which the king consulted. One was the *Samiti* which consisted of the princes and the people and the other was the *Sabha* which was attended by selected persons. Both exercised much authority, but it is difficult to define the functions of the two.

The tribe was divided into village communities (*grama*) whose head was the village elder (*gramani*).

Religion.—The Aryans were a brave and warlike race. They enjoyed the good things of life and engaged in the adventures of war. Their religion was largely concerned with obtaining success in their pursuits. They prayed to gods for strength of body, strength of children, strength of bulls, long life, treasures, good fortune, sweetness of speech, and strong minds.

They believed in many gods and goddesses but also in one divine being—the creator, sustainer and destroyer of the universe, and one divine law which regulated the activities of nature and man. The gods were the various manifestations of this supreme power. Among them Indra, Agni, Soma and Varuna were prominent. They believed that one God made the gods and men and therefore men should worship Him with prayer and sacrifice in order to attain wealth and success, happiness in this life and the abode of the blessed after death.

(b) The Later Vedic Age

Fresh immigrations and settlements.—Centuries passed and then the Aryans who were living in the Punjab began to

move out again. No one can tell why they did so. Perhaps the climate was changing. The land was becoming drier, the rivers Saraswati and Drishadvati were shrinking, the pastures were no longer adequate for feeding the cattle. Perhaps the population was increasing, the larger families of the kings and nobles needed more lands and more opportunities for their activities.

In any case some families, clans and tribes left their homes in search of territories to conquer and settle. Some went east, some west and north and others south. In time they had spread over the whole of India from Afghanistan to Assam, from the Himalayas to the Deccan. In this vast region they established a number of independent sovereign states, most were governed by monarchs but some were republics.

The cultural conditions of this later Vedic age are reflected in the Sanskrit literature which was compiled after the four Vedas. The principal books of the age are *Brahmanas*, *Aranyakas*, *Upanishads*, *Shrauta* and *Grihya Sutras*. Besides the later works like the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* and the *Puranas* contain legends which refer to this age.

Settlements.—The country occupied by the settlements in this age has been divided into five regions—central (*Madhya desha*), eastern (*Prachi desha*), southern (*Dakshina desha*), western (*Pratichi desha*), and northern (*Udichi desha*).

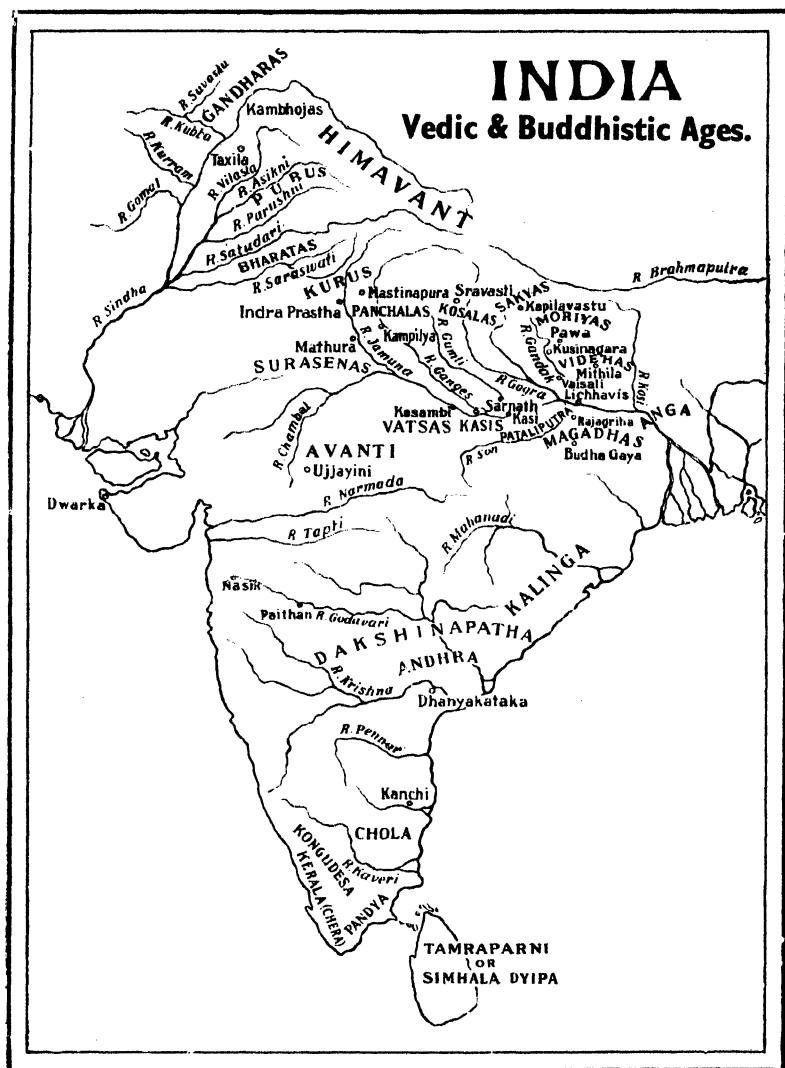
Madhya desha.—The Bharatas and Purus had already combined to form the Kuru tribe. They together with another combined group, the Panchalas, settled in the country from Delhi on the west to the districts of Bareilly, Badaun, Farrukhabad and adjoining lands in the east. Some of their important cities were Hastinapur, Kampil, Ahichchhatra (modern Ramnagar).

Prachi desha.—Further east (*Prachya*) settled the Kosalas (*Ayodhya*), the Kashis (*Varanasi*), the Videhas (*Mithila* in Bihar), the Magadhas (South Bihar), the Angas (East Bihar) and the Vangas (East Bengal).

Pratichya desha.—Towards the south-west (*Pratichya*), the Satvanta (beyond the Chambal river in Madhya Pradesh), the Yadus (who had settled at Mathura) broke into many branches which occupied the lands watered by the Chambal, Betwa and Ken, also Vidarbha (Berar), Malwa and Kathiawar Gujarat (Dwarka).

Other tribes settled in Rajputana and still others in the north-western region (*Udichya*) of India.

The Puranas contain very confused accounts of the dynasties



which ruled over these tribal kingdoms. These accounts divided the families of the Aryan kings into two great dynasties—the *Surya vanshis* (Solar race) and the *Chandra vanshis* (Lunar race). Rama, the son of Dasaratha, king of Ayodhya, belonged to the first, and Bharata, son of Dushyanta and Shakuntala to the second. India's ancient name, *Bharata varsha*, comes from Bharata, the king of the lunar race who ruled his empire from Hastinapur.

Social Conditions.—The advance of the Aryans towards the east and the south brought changes in the social system. The numbers who migrated were small and they settled amidst large numbers of non-Aryan people, who differed in custom, religion and culture, and who were subjects of the Aryan rulers. Naturally when the two lived together their relations grew and they influenced one another.

The joint family still remained the unit of society and the father or the head of the family exercised absolute control over all those who lived under one roof.

The caste system now became fully established, occupations became hereditary and the *Varnas* became *Jatis* in which the status of the individual was determined by birth. Marriage was regulated by caste. Marriage outside caste was only allowed in cases where the husband belonged to the higher caste and the wife to a lower caste. But these marriages were not favoured.

So far as the functions of the castes were concerned the Brahmanas were required, as of old, to teach, to conduct religious rites and receive offerings. But now they engaged in other occupations also. The Kshatriyas besides their principal duty to fight took to agriculture and other pursuits. The Vaishyas continued to perform the functions of agriculturists, cattle breeding, industry and trade. They paid tribute to kings and nobles in return for protection. The Shudras apart from service worked as cultivators and artisans. A fifth class, namely, the *Chandalas* or untouchables came into existence. They were considered the lowest class and much of the dirty work like that of sweepers, cleaners of leather, etc. was assigned to them.

The Brahmanas and Kshatriyas whatever their occupation enjoyed many privileges and their superior status was recognised by society. Although the Kshatriyas came after the Brahmanas, some of them acquired great fame as teachers. They taught even the Brahmanas. Janaka of Videha was one of them. The Brahmanas were advisers and ministers of kings and nobility. They officiated at sacrifices which had become very elaborate in this age.

The status of the Vaishyas in general was lowered. Although they were regarded as *Dwijas* and were required to perform some of the Vedic rites and ceremonies, they no longer took to the study of the sacred books and their occupations brought them nearer to Shudras. The Shudras, however, improved their position. They were the most numerous inhabitants of the

country and they continued their occupations, especially agriculture, as before. Also the emergence of the still lower caste of the untouchables gave them a better status.

Women in the early Vedic age were regarded equal in status to men. In later times they lost this position. They no longer took part in public offices and were expected to obey the orders of their father, husband or son. A woman of higher caste was forbidden marriage with a man of a lower caste, and polygamy or marriage of a number of women to a man was allowed. Children of the higher castes were expected to go to schools which were located in the houses of the teachers. After performing the ceremony of wearing the sacred thread (*Upanayana*), the state of student life (*Brahmacharya*) began. The duration varied from 12 years to 28 years.

The amusements and entertainments of the early period consisted of music—vocal and instrumental—dance, racing—chariot and horse—acrobatics and dicing. There was little change in the habits of food and drink. Grain, meat and milk and its products were the favourites, so also wines. The dress of men consisted of an undergarment (*dhoti*), an upper garment (*vasa*) and an overmantle (*adhivasa*). They wore turbans and shoes. Their clothes were embroidered and their bodies adorned with pearls, jewels, garlands for the neck and rings for ears.

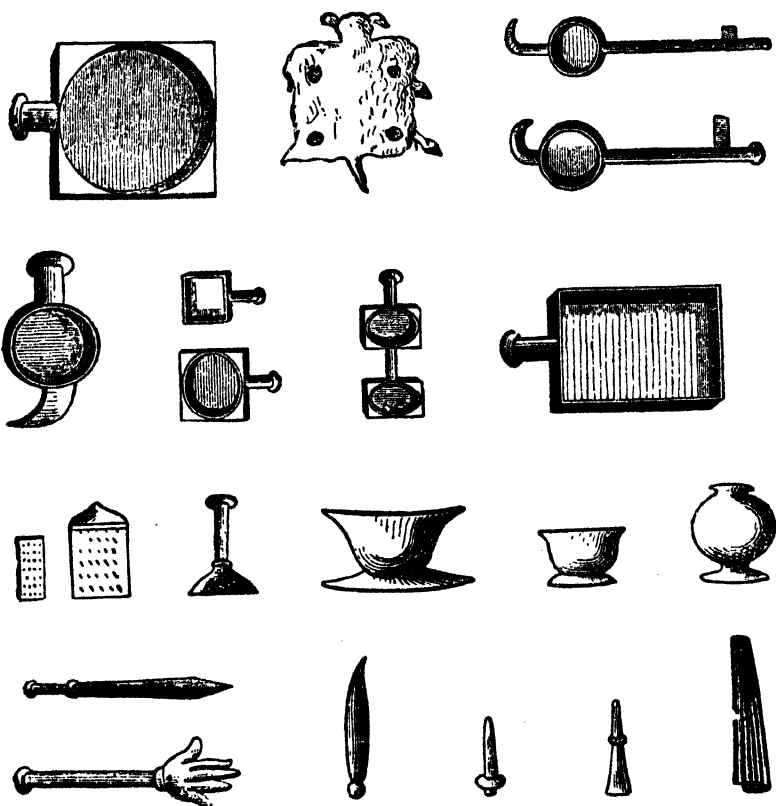
Economic Conditions.—Agriculture and pasture were the main pursuits of the Aryans. The cow and its progeny had acquired because of their great utility a special sanctity. Occupations and industries were multiplying and the artisans were becoming highly skilled and specialized. Iron was more plentiful and many tools and weapons were prepared. They increased both the fighting power and the wealth producing capacity with the result that large kingdoms were established and wealth accumulated.

Guilds of artisans and merchants were organised. Rich merchants plied trade in the markets of the country, in countries across the seas, and beyond the north-western frontiers.

Political Conditions.—Society was growing out of the simple tribal organisation. Large kingdoms were arising. There was keen rivalry among them and each king desired to become an emperor (*Samrat*) and celebrate the horse sacrifice (*Ashvamedha Yajna*). Kingship was hereditary though the consent of the upper classes was formally obtained and sometimes a choice was made between different claimants. The king on accession

took the oath that he would protect the people and religion (*dharma*). The Brahmanas played an important role as ministers, priests and advisers of kings. The administration was carried on through the officers regularly appointed by the king. They collected taxes, apprehended criminals, and maintained the security of life and property. The kings kept armies to fight their enemies and personally led them. The *Sabha* and *Samiti* of ancient days were gradually losing their importance.

Religious Life.—The religion of the later Vedic Age was no longer simple. Sacrifices were multiplied and numerous domestic and public sacrifices were introduced. Sacraments marked every important event in the life of the individual from birth to



Sacrificial Implements

[Reproduced from Ragozin's *Vedic India* by permission of Messrs. Benn Bros., Ltd.]

death. Sacred rites and ceremonies were performed daily, periodically and at seasonal changes. Elaborate sacrifices like the *Rajasuya* (consecration of a king) and *Ashvamedha* (horse sacrifice) were prescribed on occasions of public importance. Thus the Vedic religion became largely a matter of correct performance of sacrifices, by means of which one could achieve the fulfilment of one's desires.

Another development was the appearance of the doctrines of *Karma* and of transmigration, and of emancipation from suffering and sorrow by means of ascetic exercises and sacrifices. With them the bright and joyous outlook upon life disappeared.

New gods and goddesses began to be worshipped, and a change came over the attitude of the people towards the old ones. The Vedas had laid stress upon ritual and sacrifices to gods. These had become very complex and so people began to enquire about their meaning and utility. Out of these enquiries were born the philosophical speculations of the *Upanishads*. Questions relating to the origin of the universe, the nature and attributes of God, His relations with man and the universe, the objects of man's life and the means of attaining happiness, truth and knowledge began to be asked and their answers formulated.

Among the lower classes, however, much superstition prevailed. Magic, charms and spells to propitiate the evil spirits were used.

CHAPTER III

THE ANCIENT AGE, 650 B.C.–A.D. 800

The Ancient Age of our history begins with the rise of Magadha into prominence in the middle of the seventh century B.C. It closes in the eighth century A.D. when the Arabs conquered Sindh. It is the age of the kingdoms and empires ruled by the indigenous princes and emperors of India. It is also the age of the uninterrupted development of the Indian civilisation, mainly under the stress of internal factors and forces. During this age, India received into her bosom many a tribe from outside her frontiers, but absorbed them completely into her population and culture. India also received cultural influences from abroad which affected certain aspects of her culture, but the main stream of her life and civilisation continued to flow in the channels made by the children of the soil.

The Ancient Age is divided into five periods:—(1) The period of the rise of Magadha from 650 B.C. to 325 B.C., (2) the period of Mauryan ascendancy from 325 B.C. to 184 B.C., (3) the period of the Brahmana empire and the struggle with the Yavanas from 184 B.C. to 27 B.C., (4) the period of Satavahana ascendancy and the struggle with the Sakas from 27 B.C. to A.D. 300, and (5) the period of Northern ascendancy and the struggle with the Hunas from A.D. 300 to A.D. 800.

1. (a) The Rise of Magadha, 650 B.C.–325 B.C.

In the centuries following the great Bharata War, the kingdoms of the midlands declined, but a connected history of these is not possible because of lack of information.

In the seventh century there were many states in Northern India. Some of them were republics, but most were governed by kings. Among the republics were included a number of tribes inhabiting the country north of the Ganga between Kosala and Anga. Among them the confederacy of the Vrijiis was the most notable. It included the Videhas of Mithila and the Lichchhavis of Vaisali. The Sakyas were also a republic. They had their capital at Kapilavastu. In the Punjab, Sindh and Gujarat also, there were similar republican states. Among the monarchies there were some small kingdoms like Gandhara.

(with its capital at Takshashila), Surasena (at Mathura), and Anga (at Champa). But the most important principalities of the century were the four kingdoms of Magadha, Kosala, Vatsa or Vamsa, and Avanti, with their capitals at Rajgriha, Sravasti, Kausambi and Ujjain respectively.

Before the birth of Gautama Buddha, the Kosalas had obtained ascendancy over the ancient principalities of the Kurus, the Panchalas, the Kasis and the Sakyas; the kingdom of Avanti had come to exercise rule over the Sursenas, the Matsyas and the Bhojas; the Vatsas probably controlled the Chedis who were their neighbours; but the kingdom of Magadha, which had recently arisen into power, ultimately extended its sway over all of them.

At the time of the Bharata War, the Brihadratha family ruled over Magadha. The last ruler of the dynasty was Ripunjaya. After him a new dynasty, Haryanka, began to rule in Magadha. Its first important king was Bimbisara Seniya (Srenika) who increased the influence of his house by marriage relations. He married the daughters of the chief of the Lichchhavis of Vaisali, of the king of the Kosalas and of the ruler of the Madra tribe (Punjab); and he gave his daughter in marriage to the king of the Vatsas of Kausambi. He built a new capital at Rajgriha, and annexed the kingdom of Anga with its capital Champa. Sakyamuni Gautama, the Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, and Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, lived during his reign. He was succeeded by his son, Ajatasatru who, according to the Buddhist traditions, starved his father to death and then repented before the Buddha. He was a powerful ruler and married the daughter of Prasenjit, the ruler of Kosala. He waged wars against the Vrijjis and the Lichchhavis, and annexed the territories of Vaisali, Vidicha and Kasi to his kingdom. He also seized a part of the Kosala territories and raised his kingdom to a position of dominance. His only rival was the ruler of Avanti. Gautama Buddha died in the eighth year of his reign.

Ajatasatru's son, Udayin, transferred the capital to Pataliputra. From his descendants, who were weak, the throne passed to Nandivardhana Sisunaga, who was a governor before he became king. He destroyed the power of the rulers of Avanti, and made Magadha supreme over a large part of Northern India.

The Sisunaga dynasty was overthrown by the Nandas whose first ruler was Mahapadma. He was a great conqueror, and he brought Kosala, Kuntala, and Kalinga under his sway, and left

to his sons an extensive empire, a large army and an abundant treasury. His eight sons succeeded him, and then Chandragupta Maurya, with the help of his Brahmana minister, Kautilya, seized the throne.

Foreign Invasions.—While Magadha was establishing its supremacy in the interior, north-western India had to face the invasions of the Persians from the west. The relations between Persia and India go back to remote times. About the middle of the sixth century B.C. Cyrus the Great of Persia was brought into direct contact with India by his campaign in Afghanistan and Baluchistan. In the reign of Darius (522–486 B.C.), the valley of Sindh and a portion of the Punjab were included in the Persian empire.

In the fourth century, when the Nandas were ruling at Pataliputra, Alexander, King of Macedon, after overrunning Western Asia and conquering Persia and Afghanistan, crossed the Indus in 326 B.C. Ambhi, the Raja of Takshashila, who had heard of his approach and had sent his submission before Alexander had crossed the Indus, opened the gates to the invader and allowed him to enter India. Alexander proceeded towards the Jhelum, and defeated the mighty Paurava king, who had collected his hordes of foot, horse, chariot and elephant against the invader, on the bank of the river. Alexander gave back to the Indian king his kingdom because of his fearlessness and bravery. Then he crossed the other rivers of the Punjab, defeating the rulers of the tribes inhabiting the regions between the rivers Jhelum and Ravi, and advanced to the Beas. His army, which had followed him without murmur so far, refused to move any further. Alexander was forced to stop here. He then returned to the Jhelum, prepared a fleet of boats, and sailed down the Indus to the ocean. On the way along the banks of the river he attacked and crushed the tribes which attempted to arrest his passage. On reaching the mouth of the Indus his army proceeded to Babylon, one part going by sea, and the other by land.

Alexander remained in India from February 326 B.C. to October 325 B.C. The Persian conquest and Alexander's invasion extended the contacts between India and the western countries of Asia and Greece. Indian soldiers served in the army of Darius the Persian King who invaded Greece. The Persians and the Greeks came to India and served the Indian princes. One of the results of this intercourse was that the Kharoshthi script, derived from a West Asian script, was introduced in India. Persian and

Greek art influenced Indian sculpture and architecture, and Greek astronomical science became known to Indian scholars. Indian religious missionaries spread the doctrines of the Buddha in Central Asia and other lands.

1. (b) The Social and Religious Changes, 650 B.C.-325 B.C.

In the seventh century B.C. there was much stir in the religious and social life of India. A great change had come over the spirit of the old Vedic religion. The sacrifices and rites had assumed an importance which tended to diminish the value of real piety and true religion. Their numbers had increased, they had become elaborate and were regarded as a powerful means of attaining men's earthly desires. The rules of the sacrifices had become complex and so required the whole time of the Brahmanas to understand them. The life of the ordinary house-holder was regulated by the sacred principles of *Dharma*. To make it easy to remember them they were reduced to aphorisms (*Sutras*).

Many people, however, had begun to doubt the efficacy of the sacrifices and rites, and to speculate upon the problems of man's destiny and salvation. The earlier *Upanishads* embody the results of some of these discussions. They laid emphasis upon knowledge, asceticism and spiritual discipline for the attainment of supreme bliss. But along with them new philosophical and religious systems also grew up which offered other solutions of these problems.

Among changes in religious doctrine was the new emphasis on the belief in *Samsara* and *Karma*, or transmigration and law of action and its consequence. According to this belief men are born and die again and again and the fruits of action performed in one life are gathered in the next. Another change was the development of faith in *Bhakti* (devotion) to Krishna or Shiva whose grace secured liberation from *Samsara*.

Images and temples were becoming parts of worship in this age.

The worship of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva became popular and began to take the place of the worship of the Vedic gods. The Bhagvata religion, of which Vasudeva-Krishna became the central figure, also had its beginning about this period. It taught the way of the realisation of freedom (*Moksha*) through love and devotion.

In the eastern regions this intellectual and religious movement

led to the appearance of the religions which repudiated the Vedic cult and doctrine. A marked feature of the religious life of this period was the prevalence of orders of wandering monks (*Sadhus*). Among Brahmanas and Kshatriyas many men abandoned their homes and relatives in order to go about and acquire religious truth wherever they could find it. These wandering holy men spread new ideas and stirred the minds of the people. They lived a life of purity, simplicity and self-mortification, and attracted the people by their good character and unselfish living.

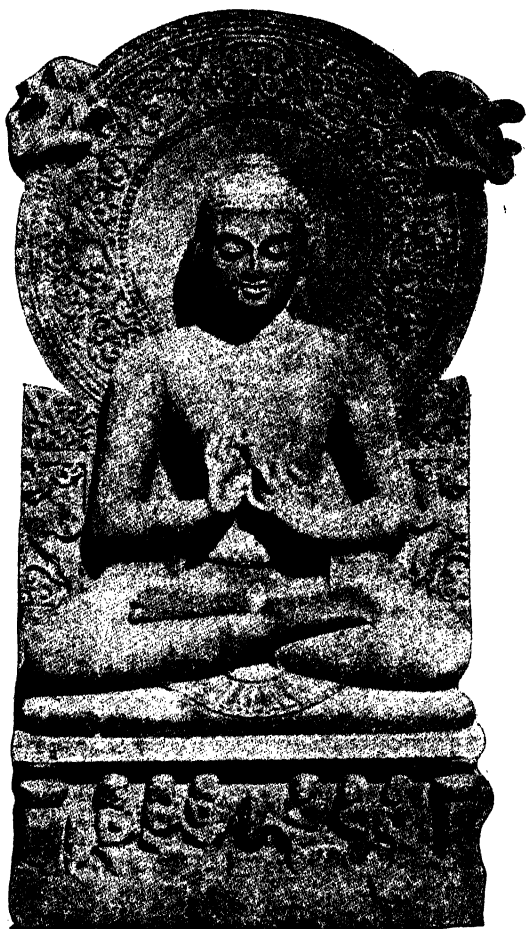
Among them many became founders of religion, but the most important were Mahavira and Gautama Buddha. They lived about the same time and knew Bimbisara and Ajatashatru, kings of Magadha.

The Jaina Religion.—Mahavira's father was a wealthy nobleman of Kundagrama, near Vaisali, and his mother a Lichchhavi princess. He was related to Ajatashatru. At the age of thirty he left his home and became a monk. He led a hard ascetic life of penance and meditation. At the age of forty-two he realised supreme knowledge and freedom from the bonds of pleasure and pain and became *Arhat* (the divine) and *Jin* (the conqueror). He then taught the Jaina religion. For thirty years he went about preaching his doctrines and making converts. He died at the age of seventy-two years at Pava near Rajgriha.

The Jaina religion teaches that suffering is the lot of man, his condition is changeful, his soul tosses like a boat helplessly along the current of life, and passes from one state to another (*Samsara*). Thus existence itself is misery and, therefore, man's goal must be release from the pain of the cycle of births and deaths. This can be obtained by gaining possession of the three precious jewels of religion. In the first place one should have the right faith, surrender himself to the teacher and take refuge in him; secondly, one should obtain the right knowledge of the great truths about the world, action and bondage; and, thirdly, one should follow the right path and take the vows of non-injury, truth, poverty, chastity and self-sacrifice.

The religion of Mahavira was universal. He preached that salvation was within the reach of all irrespective of caste or race, that man was responsible for his own actions and must rely on his own efforts for reaching the goal. He prescribed an austere discipline for those whose duty was to teach, and laid special emphasis upon the virtue of *Ahimsa* or non-injury to living beings.

The Buddhist Religion.—Gautama Buddha, who broke



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Buddha preaching his first sermon.

Sarnath Museum, Varanasi.

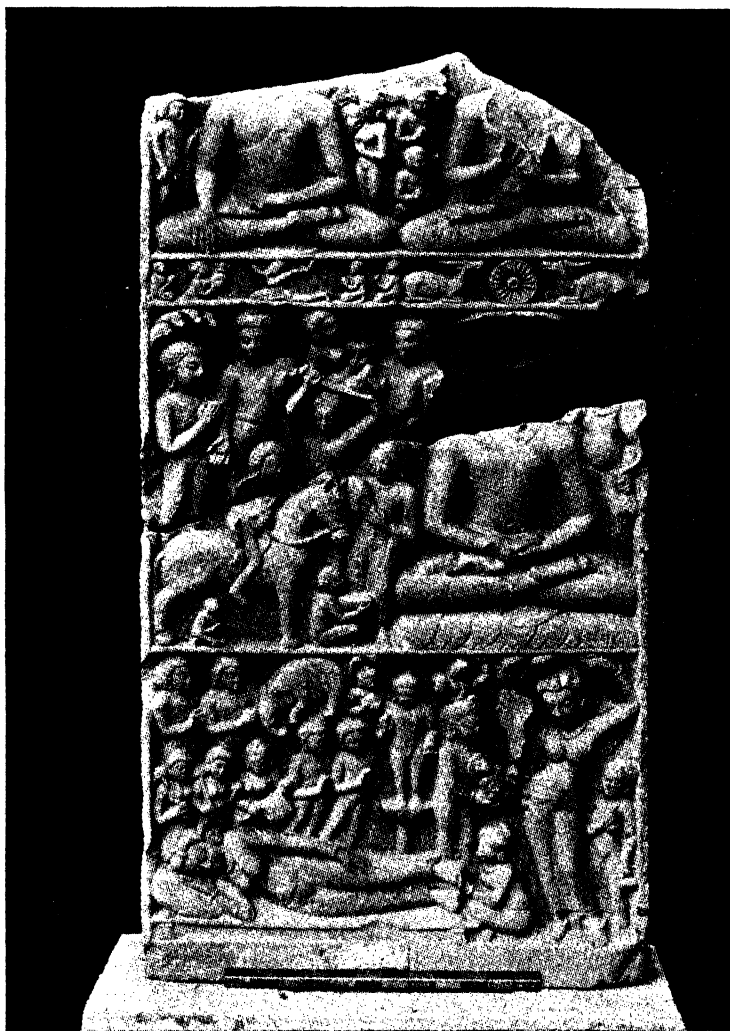
away from the religious system of the sacrifices, was the son of Shuddhodana, who was a prince of the Sakya clan. He was born in the Lumbini garden at Kapilavastu about 566 B.C. and was brought up in the midst of great wealth and luxury. He was of a reflective turn of mind, and the sight of old age, sickness and death so deeply touched his heart that it produced in him a great revulsion towards the world. He renounced the life of comfort and ease, left his beautiful young wife, his new-born son, and his sorrowing parents, to enter into the homeless state of a wandering

ascetic bent upon solving the mystery of life. He spent some years in the study of philosophy and wandered from place to place. Then he settled at Uruvela, near Gaya. It was a pleasant spot in a beautiful forest, and the clear stream of Phalgu flowed through the meadows that surrounded it. Here he performed terrible austerities, kept long fasts and went through painful exercises to prepare himself for receiving enlightenment. He was reduced to a skeleton, but all his efforts to gain truth by asceticism were unavailing. He then realised that mere austerities were useless. He gave them up and took to meditation and contemplation, and at last attained the knowledge which delivers man from suffering and brings peace and tranquillity to the mind. He became the Buddha—the enlightened.

From Uruvela, Buddha went to Sarnath near Varanasi, and began his ministry by preaching his first sermon there. He devoted the rest of his life to teaching, organising his Sangha and making converts. He died at the age of 80 at Kushinara. The last words which he addressed from his death-bed to his beloved disciple, Ananda, were: ‘Do not weep. Have I not told you before, that it is the very nature of things most near and dear to us that we must part from them, sever ourselves from them? All that is born, brought into being, and put together carries within itself the necessity of dissolution. You have done well, Ananda. Be earnest in effort and you, too, shall soon be free from the great evils—from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion and from ignorance.’ Buddha’s teachings resemble those of Mahavira. Like him he also considered that the life of man in this world was full of misery and suffering and the cause of this was selfishness. The only way of putting an end to this misery was to overcome desire by means of inner discipline. For when the cravings for sense gratification, for the pleasures of this world, and for immortality were overcome, man attained *Nirvana*—serenity of soul. ‘Whosoever would save his life shall lose it.’

Buddha rejected the asceticism and ritual taught by the Brahmanas and the efficacy of sacrifices. He did not recognise caste differences in the matter of religion, and taught that every one could attain *Nirvana* or salvation. He used Prakrit, the spoken language of the common people, to preach his gospel, and divided his followers into laymen and monks. He advised the former to carry on their usual pursuits, but laid down special rules of conduct for the latter, who were organised into an order (*Sangha*).

Buddha did not concern himself much with speculation, and therefore ignored questions regarding the nature of God and the soul. He had a practical object in view, that is, the deliverance of man from suffering. In order to achieve this it was necessary



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Scenes from Buddha's life.
Sarnath Museum, Varanasi.

to understand the truths about suffering, its cause and cure, and the path to its extinction. This path is known as the middle path, and the noble eight-fold path (Aryan path). It consists of (1) right views, (2) right aspirations, (3) right speech, (4) right conduct, (5) right livelihood, (6) right effort, (7) right mindfulness, and (8) right meditation. The path does not prescribe any rites and dogmas, but shows that righteousness alone leads to emancipation (*Nirvana*).

The Buddha's teachings are contained in the three books known as *Tripitakas*. They are in the Pali language. The first describes the doctrines, the second the rules of discipline of monks, and the third the philosophy. Included among these books are the famous Dhammapada which is an anthology of the sayings of Buddha, the Gathas which are the psalms of monks, and the Jatakas or stories of Buddha's life.

Political conditions.—Politically, India was divided at the commencement of the period into numerous small states. They were gradually brought under the sway of a few rising powers. At the end of the period Alexander's conquests in the Punjab and the extension of Magadha dominion were leading to the establishment of a vast empire. The empire, however, did not destroy the tribal states which existed, but only made them dependent upon and subordinate to a central authority.

These free states were variously governed before they were absorbed. Some of them were ruled by kings and others were republics.

So far as the kings were concerned, their power was becoming arbitrary during this period. The ancient institutions of *Sabha* and *Samiti* were losing their authority, and the only checks upon the will of the kings were dread of revolt in case of gross abuse of power, and the existence of numerous corporations, guilds and self-governing bodies with their own jurisdiction and bands of armed men.

The administration of the larger kingdoms was carried out with the assistance of viceroys and governors. Among the state officials the Purohit was important. Besides him there were other high officials, *Mahamatras* who were in charge of general administration, justice, army, and land revenue.

The army consisted of the infantry, armed with bows and arrows, spears, swords, and buckler; the cavalry, the chairots; and the elephants.

The land revenue system was based on the survey of the fields,

the cultivators paid a share of their produce—usually one-sixth to the state. There were other taxes besides.

In the republican tribes the Kshatriya or noble families composed the ruling corporation (*Gana*), and the heads of the families constituted the government.

The councils of the republic held frequent meetings in halls built for the purpose. The members of the councils were seated in accordance with their age and dignity; they conducted their deliberations and voted upon motions according to fixed rules.

Social changes.—The first change that may be noticed is that the Aryan states are no longer purely tribal in character. The tribal names still denoted the states, but they were definitely located in territories which acquired the names of the tribes who had settled there.

In the second place, the rise of the principalities of the eastern regions is accompanied by a profound change in the structure of society. The power of the Kshatriya order receives a set-back in the midlands and the west, and the Brahmanas acquire the preponderant influence in the social systems. Thus the literature—religious, legal and epic—which the Brahmanas produced supports their unusual claims. They occupy the first place in society, and their position is determined by birth and not by actual performance of duties. They are the sole custodians of religion, social rank and purity. They lay down rules of marriage, dining, and touching—prohibiting them with the lower orders. While the denial of the authority of the *Veda* by the others leads to perdition, the Brahmana is not tainted even though he commits sins, provided he repeats the sacred texts. The law deals with the individuals in accordance with their castes. The punishment for the same crimes is lighter for the higher and heavier for the lower castes, and the Brahmana receives the most favourable treatment. Even the rates of interest are fixed according to caste. The decay of the original Kshatriya clans brings mercenary soldiers on the scene, some of whom belong to the non-Aryan groups.

The decline of the military order, the establishment of inequalities, the rigidity of customs, and the decay in the spirit of independence led to the weakening of society, and encouraged the invasions of the Persians and the Greeks, and the rise of the empires. In the eastern regions, however, the Kshatriyas remained masters. Their clans had conquered and settled in countries which were occupied by aboriginal tribes. They gloried in

their power and extended their dominion at the expense of their neighbours. The warriors and merchants played the role of leaders in society. The Kshatriyas examined the religious beliefs of the Brahmanas, and laid the foundations of new philosophies and religions which obtained the support of the rich merchants. In this manner the Jaina and Buddhist schools grew.

The castes were recognised and continued to flourish. But they were not yet rigidly separated or subdivided. Princes, Brahmanas and Sethis sent their sons to the same teachers and even ate together and intermarried.

The other two classes—the Vaishyas and the Shudras, came near to one another. Among the Vaishyas, some became rich and influential and played an important part in society and state. But most followed the old occupations and their status was lowered. The Shudras were expected to serve the upper classes. They too worked as agriculturists, artisans and craftsmen. But the study of the sacred books and performance of sacraments (*Samskaras*) was prohibited to them.

A new feature of the social system was the increase in the number of castes and subcastes. This was the result of marriages out of caste, multiplication of arts and crafts, and the inclusion of large numbers of non-Aryans in society.

The expansion of Aryan kingdoms in the east had brought numerous non-Aryans under subjection and large numbers were taken as prisoners of war. Thus a great many men and women were reduced to slavery, and slave labour enhanced the wealth and power of the kingdoms.

Marriages between castes were not in favour. The age of the marriage of girls was lowered and women were losing the equality of status with men.

Economic Life.—Agriculture was the main occupation of the people. The land was owned by the village community, which paid to the king, in kind, a tithe on produce. The village community had an advanced sense of their duties and rights. They met together to carry on their affairs, built halls, rest-houses, tanks, laid out gardens and kept the roads in repair. The Brahmanas and Kshatriyas did not consider it degrading to cultivate their lands and engage in agriculture.

The arts and crafts were varied and their number had much increased. Trade flourished, and the caravans of merchants going by land and by sea were common sights. Industries were loca-

lised in villages, and trades in particular streets of the towns. Corporate life was abundant and well organised, for there were numerous guilds (*srenis*) of merchants and partnerships in craft and industry.

2. The Mauryan Ascendancy, 325 B.C.—184 B.C.

Chandragupta Maurya.—The Nandas were a powerful dynasty who had extended their dominion over the whole of the Gangetic plain in the fourth century B.C. They possessed a large army and a well-filled treasury. The last king of their line was occupying the throne of Pataliputra when Alexander invaded India. He was a proud tyrant who had a wicked disposition. Chandragupta, who was a prince of the Maurya clan, made an attempt, with the help of Chanakya Brahmana of Taxila, to overthrow him. But he failed and fled to the camp of Alexander. On the retreat of Alexander from India, Chandragupta made an alliance with the chiefs of the Punjab and the Himalayan districts and invaded Magadha. Nanda was defeated and killed, and Chandragupta became king in 322 B.C.

He was a warlike and energetic ruler, and he set about the conquest of the western regions. He annexed Malwa, Gujarat, Kathiawar and Sindh. Whether he crossed the Vindhya and descended into the Konkan and marched further south is not certain. But his conquests in the west brought him into conflict with Seleukos (Seleucus), one of Alexander's generals who had been appointed ruler of the eastern dominions of the Macedonian empire. In 305 B.C. Seleukos crossed the Indus and was opposed by Chandragupta. The result of the war was that Seleukos was defeated, and he had to surrender all the Greek territories including Herat, Kandahar, Baluchistan and the Kabul valley in return for a safe retreat and a gift of five hundred elephants. He gave his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta or his son. Later he sent Megasthenes as his ambassador to Chandragupta's court. The account which Megasthenes wrote of India and of the administration of Chandragupta has been preserved in the writings of the Greek historians, and is a source of our knowledge of those times.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son, Bindusara, in about 298 B.C. He maintained intact the dominions conquered by his father. He suppressed the revolts which were raised in Taxila and other places, and kept on friendly terms with the Greek rulers of the west. His reign lasted for about twenty-four years.

Ashoka.—Ashoka, the son of Bindusara, came to the throne in 274 B.C., but was actually crowned emperor four years later (270 B.C.). He assumed the title of '*Devanampriya Priyadarshin*' which means 'the gracious one who is beloved of the gods.' During the first thirteen years of his reign he followed the policy of extending his empire within India and of maintaining peaceful relations with the rulers of the neighbouring countries.

In the twelfth year of his reign (262 B.C.), Ashoka effected the conquest of Kalinga. The war was conducted with terrible violence and thousands of men were slain or enslaved. Kalinga was made a province of the empire, and a viceroy of the royal family was stationed at Tosali to govern it. The slaughter and suffering which were caused by the conquest made a deep impression upon the mind of Ashoka. He renounced war, joined the Buddhist order as a lay disciple, and two-and-a-half years later probably became a monk. From this time onwards, till his death, he devoted all his energies to spreading the *Dharma*. He made religious tours, visited many places, held discussions and gave religious instruction. He employed the resources of a vast empire in establishing a reign of peace, piety and goodwill. He planted trees and constructed wells and rest-houses along the roads, and built hospitals for men and animals. He appointed special officers to preach religion, and sent missionaries to neighbouring nations. He propagated the tenets of piety by inscribing them on rocks and pillars so that all could read them.

The first of his religious proclamations was issued in 259 B.C. In the next two years no fewer than sixteen such edicts were issued and inscribed in the distant parts of the empire. In these edicts, principles for the guidance of the government and the people were laid down, regulations were made restricting the slaughter of animals for food, and the people were told to show kindness towards relations and respect for Brahmanas and teachers, to speak the truth, and to curtail rites and ceremonies.

Similar edicts were published even among the frontier peoples who were not subjects of the empire.

According to some traditions, in the twenty-first year of the reign, a council was held at Pataliputra, under the patronage of Ashoka, to put an end to the differences which had arisen among the Buddhist teachers. After the council, missionaries were sent to Kashmir, Gandhara, Bactria, Southern India, Ceylon, and the kingdoms of the west ruled by the successors of Alexander. Ashoka's son, Mahendra, and his daughter, Sanghamitra, led the mission.



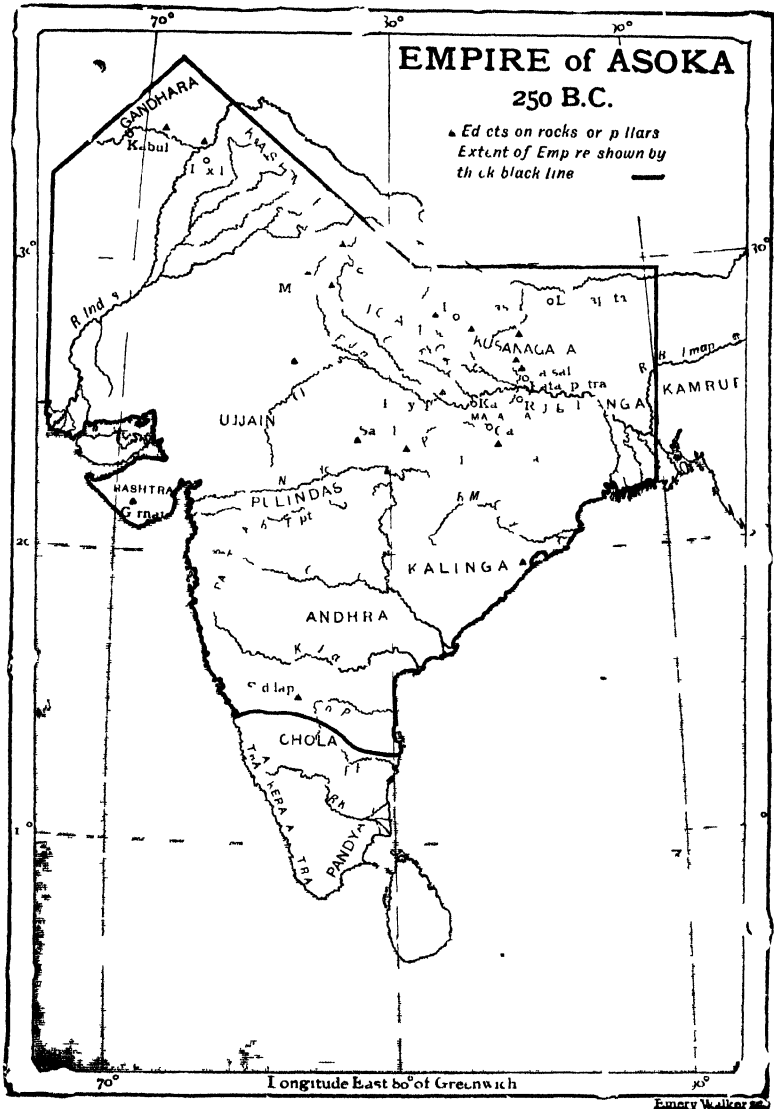
Copyright: Archaeological Survey of India
Ashoka Pillar, Lauriya Nandangarh.

to Ceylon, and they succeeded in converting the king and the people of the island.

Ashoka erected many monuments. He built *stupas* over the relics of the Buddha, and had cave-dwellings constructed for monks. Stone pillars at Delhi, Sarnath, Allahabad and other places were inscribed by his orders, and the Sudarshan tank at Junagarh was completed on his behalf. He is said to have founded the cities of Srinagar in Kashmir, and Deopatan in Nepal.

The Religion of Ashoka.—Ashoka was a zealous convert who took an active interest in the extension of the *Dharma*, or the law of piety, and who personally exerted himself to propagate it. But Ashoka was no bigot. He paid reverence to men of all sects. He really cared for the essence of faith, and therefore was tolerant towards all religions and desired to establish concord among them. He prohibited animal sacrifices and discouraged elaborate rites.

Extent of Empire.—The dominions over which the emperor



ruled included Kashmir, the Himalayan region, the northern plains (Punjab, Rajputana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal) and Central India from sea to sea (Kathiawar, Gujarat, Malwa, the Deccan and Kalinga). The centre of the government was at Pataliputra, and under it were the viceroyalties of Takshashila,

Ujjain, Tosali (Kalinga) and Suvarnagiri (Deccan). Beyond these were the border peoples who came under the sphere of influence of the empire. In the north-west were the Gandharas, Kambojas and Yavanas, and in the south the Rashtrikas, Maharashtra, Bhojas (Berar), Andhras (between Godavari and Krishna), and Pulindas (south of Malwa).

Thus the empire extended from the Hindukush on the north to the Pennar river in the south, and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east.

Maurya Administration.—The Shishunaga and Nanda kings had built up a large empire, the Mauryas extended its frontiers to include practically the whole of India from the Hindukush to Mysore.

The vast dominions over which the Mauryas held sway were inhabited by peoples possessing various degrees of autonomy. The Gandharas, Kambojas and Yavanas of the north-west, the Rashtrikas, Bhojas, Andhras and Pulindas of the south were semi-independent. There were many border peoples and some regions in the heart of the empire which were not completely under the rule of the Mauryas. The empire consisted of many kingdoms and peoples, and the emperor was the head of a great confederation of states which recognised his supremacy, but which were independent in their internal administration and civil government. 'He was the link which bound together, in association for peace or war, powers which were the natural rivals of one another.'

It was not possible to govern such an empire in accordance with the principles of administration which suited the small states. The empire had been built up by conquest and held together by force. The old checks upon the authority of the ruler were no longer operative, and the emperor was, therefore, an autocrat in whom the entire authority of the state centred. An elaborate machinery of government was devised which administered the affairs of the empire by means of departments and boards.

The emperor stood at the head of the government. He was the guardian of the social order. It was his duty to protect life and property, to promote agriculture and industry, to maintain the poor and the sick, to encourage education, to deal out justice and administer the laws. He was the commander in chief of the army, and the highest court of justice.

Great precautions were naturally taken to protect the life of

the king, and for this purpose a bodyguard of women (*Yavanis*) was maintained.

The central government consisted of a number of ministers and officials of high rank who worked under the direction of the emperor.

The great officers formed a council (*mantri-parishad*) which gave advice on the administration of the empire. The council was a deliberative body, for the decisions were made by the king alone. In all urgent business the king consulted only the most trusted of his officials.

Under the ministers were numerous officials who worked in the departments concerned with the different branches of the administration. Those of the highest rank were known as *Mahamatras*, and below them were *Pradeshikas* (district officers), *Rajukas*, *Yutas* and *Rajpurushas*.

The empire was divided into five regions. The north-western region had its capital at Takshashila (Taxila), the western at Ujjain, the eastern at Tosali, the southern at Suvarnagiri, and the central at Pataliputra. Each region was governed by a viceroy, except the central where the emperor ruled directly. The viceroys were usually princes of the royal family, and they were assisted by *Pradeshikas*. Each region consisted of a number of territories or *janapadas*. The *janapadas* were divided into *ganas* or *sthanas* (districts), and *ganas* into *gramas* (villages).

The *janapada* was the unit of administration. The *Samaharta* was the head of its revenue and police administration. He had under him *Sthanikas* and *Gopas*. The *Gramikas* performed similar duties in the villages.

At the head of the city was an official called *Nagaraka*. Six boards of five members each were in charge of its administration. The boards looked after the sanitation of the city, protected it from fire, maintained peace, kept the census, cared for the foreigners, supervised arts, industries and commerce, and collected duties and octrois.

The department of irrigation was in charge of a number of officials. They controlled the rivers, measured the land for irrigation, and supplied water in accordance with the needs of the cultivators. Other officials were in charge of the building and repair of roads.

The administration of justice was one of the most important functions of the state. The king was regarded as the fountain of justice and the highest judge in the realm. He personally

received complaints and decided appeals. Law courts, over which judges presided, were established for the territorial divisions of the empire.

To maintain an impartial administration of justice the judges were liable to trial by superior courts, and to punishments like torture, mutilation and death.

The laws followed in the courts were of several kinds. In the first place were the sacred laws (*Dharma*); secondly, rules based upon agreement; thirdly, customs; and, lastly, the edicts of the king.

The empire was held together by a highly organised army which protected the country from foreign invaders and maintained internal peace and order. It comprised four kinds of troops, the hereditary soldiers or Kshattriyas of the Maurya clan and of their dependent chiefs, the hired troops, the contingents maintained by the corporations and the forest tribes. It had four arms—elephants, horses, chariots and infantry. Doctors and nurses were employed in the army to treat the sick and the wounded.

A naval force was maintained to protect the coastal regions and rivers from enemies and pirates and to collect customs.

The various departments of the army and the navy were administered by six boards, each of which consisted of five members.

An elaborate organisation of spies who sent reports from the most distant corners of the empire, and in regard to all administrative and other affairs, was maintained. By means of this secret service the emperor kept the closest watch upon the activities of both officials and subjects.

Achievements and Character of Ashoka.—Ashoka is one of the greatest monarchs known to history. He is the only great ruler who abandoned war and military glory for the sake of conquest by the law of piety and for the establishment of human brotherhood. Whether Ashoka joined the order of the Buddhist monks or not, he did not relinquish imperial authority. He was not a recluse and a dreamer. For twenty-eight years after his conversion he conducted the affairs of his vast empire with great zeal and ability. He showed how the way of living taught by the Buddha—the noble Aryan path—could be actually put into practice by a ruler of men for the welfare and uplift of his subjects. In the words of H. G. Wells, ‘amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, the name

of Ashoka shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory to-day than have ever heard the name of Constantine or Charlemagne.'

Successors of Ashoka.—On the death of Ashoka in 232 B.C. the Maurya empire began to decay rapidly, and, therefore, very little is known about his successors. His grandsons, Dasharath and Samprati, ruled over the eastern and western parts of the empire, and his son, Jalauka, over Kashmir. Samprati was apparently a Jaina who zealously promoted the Jaina religion. Jalauka was a Shaiva.

The last ruler of the dynasty was Brihadratha, who was slain by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra Sunga, on the occasion of a military review (about 185 B.C.). Petty Mauryan kings, however, continued to rule in Magadha and Western India till the seventh century A.D.

3. The Brahmana empire and the Yavanas, 184 B.C.–27 B.C.

The overthrow of the Mauryas in 185 B.C. produced great confusion in India. It opened an era of internal strife and foreign invasion. The Mauryan empire broke up, and for nearly a century and a half (184 B.C. to 27 B.C.), three Indian powers contended for supremacy over India. They were:—(1) the Sungas and Kanvas in the centre; (2) the Chetas in the east, and (3) the Satavahanas in the Deccan. Besides during this period a number of foreign tribes encouraged by the internal dissensions in India invaded the country and established their rule over Indian territories. Among them were (1) the Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks, and (2) the Saka-Pahlavas or Irano-Scythians.

(1) **The Sungas and the Kanvas.**—Pushyamitra Sunga, the commander-in-chief of the last Maurya, Brihadratha, whom he slew, was a feudatory ruler of Eastern Malwa (Vidisa). He was a Brahmana and a staunch follower of the ancient Vedic religion. He ruled at Pataliputra for nearly thirty-six years (184–149 B.C.). He had to wage wars with the Satavahanas over the possession of Vidarbha, whose prince was their dependent, and his son Agnimitra, won a victory over them. He had also to fight against the Yavanas who had overrun the Punjab and raided the midland country. His grandson, Vasumitra, inflicted

a defeat upon them. In order to celebrate his success he performed the horse sacrifice which only great suzerains (*Chakravartis*) were authorised to perform.

On the death of Pushyamitra his son and grandson ascended the throne in succession, and they were succeeded by a number of kings. Devabhuti, the tenth king, was a dissolute prince. He was assassinated at the instance of Vasudeva-Kanva, his chief minister, and the power passed into the hands of the Brahmana minister of the Kanva family. In the last quarter of the first century B.C., the Sunga-Kanva rule was brought to an end by the Satavahanas.

Feudatories of the Sungas.—When the Sungas came into power the empire which the Mauryas had built up was already declining. The central region which accepted the suzerainty of the Sungas was divided into a number of semi-independent principalities. Malwa alone was directly ruled by them. Of these principalities some were under kings, for instance, the Vatsas of Kausambi and Bharhut, the Panchalas of Ahichhatra, the Surasenas of Mathura, and the Kosalas of Ayodhya. Others like the Kshatriyas of the Punjab, the Yaudheyas and the Arjunayanas of Rajputana, were republican, and there were tribal chiefs who ruled in the Himalayan region from Kulu to Nepal.

(2) **The Chetas.**—In the eastern regions the Kalingas, who occupied the valley of the Mahanadi, had asserted their independence. Their rulers belonged to the Cheta dynasty which traced its lineage from the Chedis of Kausambi. The third king of the line was Kharavela, whose exploits are inscribed in the Hathigumpha or Elephant Cave on the Udayagiri hills, near Cuttack. He was an ambitious king who patronised the Jaina religion. On two occasions he invaded the Satavahana dominions in the Deccan, and raided Berar and Maharashtra. He invaded Magadha also and compelled its local ruler to flee to Mathura. He was probably a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga, and of Satakarni, the king of the western regions. Nothing is known about his successors.

(3) **The Early Satavahanas (Andhras).**—The Satiyaputras are mentioned in the inscriptions of Ashoka as dwelling in the western regions. They founded a kingdom in Maharashtra and made Paithan (Pratishthana) on the Godavari its capital. The name of the first ruler of the dynasty was Simuka Satavahana. The rulers were Brahmanas by caste, and they gloried in having humiliated the Kshatriyas, whose empire had tended to bring

about a mixing of castes. They revived the Vedic religion and performed the Vedic sacrifices.

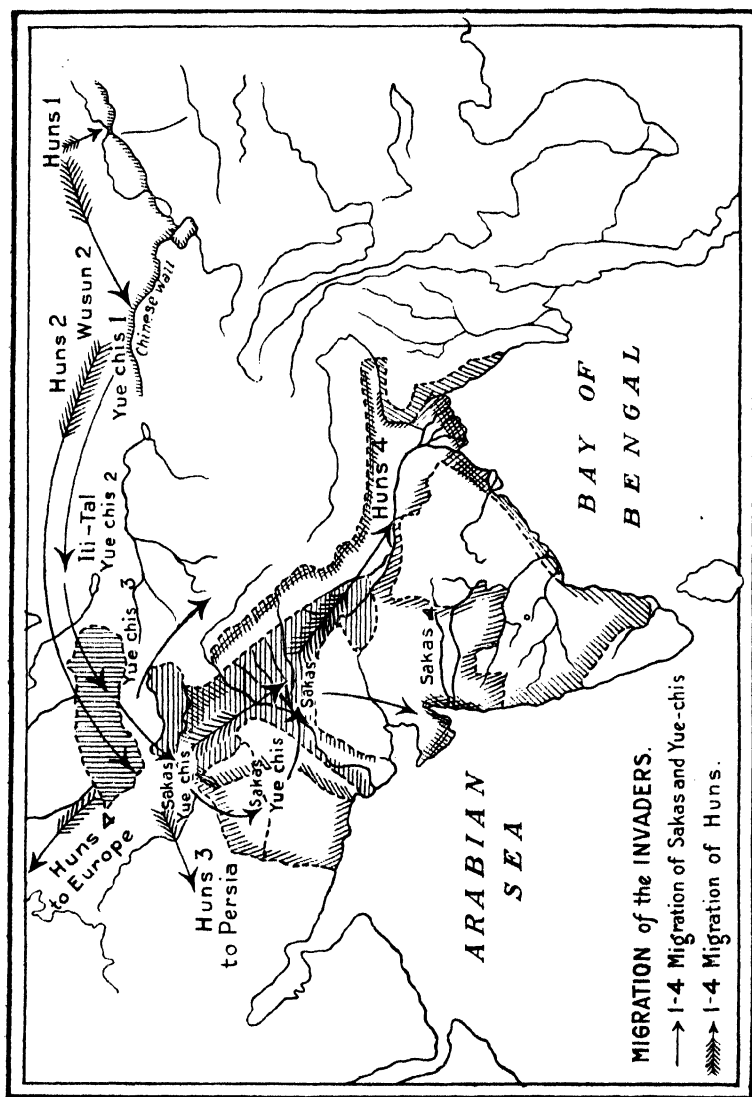
Satakarni I, the third king, was a contemporary of Pushyamiitra Sunga. He conquered Ujjain and repulsed the attacks of Kharavela. He performed the *Ashvamedha* (horse) sacrifice.

After him the Satavahana kings continued to rule over the Western Deccan and Eastern Malwa, and about 28 B.C. they put an end to the empire of the Kanvas.

(4) **The Yavanas.**—In the north-western regions, the provinces of the Mauryan empire were conquered by the Yavana princes of Bactria. These princes belonged to two Greek houses, one of Euthydemus and the other of Eukratides, who divided between themselves the kingdom of Bactria including the conquered provinces of India. The line of Euthydemus ruled the Punjab from Sialkot (Sagala). The greatest prince of their dynasty was Menander who accepted the Buddhist faith. His name is associated with a famous Buddhist treatise known as *Milindpanho*, or the questions of Milinda (Menander). The princes of this line carried their incursions into the midland countries, but were repelled by the Sunga forces. They wrested the Eastern Punjab from the empire and continued to rule there until they were overthrown by the Sakas in the middle of the first century B.C.

The successors of Eukratides made themselves masters of the Kabul valley and the Western Punjab. Their dominions extended over Kapisa (Afghanistan) and Gandhara (Taxila and Peshawar). The ambassadors of these princes visited the country of the Sunga rulers, and one of them, Heliodorus, who was a follower of the Bhagavata religion, erected a column of stone at Besnagar (Bhilsa) in honour of Krishna-Vasudeva. Their kingdom was conquered by the Sakas in the first quarter of the first century B.C.

(5) **The Sakas and Pahlavas.**—The Sakas or Scythians were a nomad people who inhabited the regions beyond the Amu (Oxus) river. About the middle of the second century B.C. they were driven across the river, and they occupied Bactria. The Greek rulers of Kabul prevented their entrance into Afghanistan. So they were obliged to migrate west into the Herat territory, and then into Sistan and Kandahar. Later they pushed through Baluchistan into the Punjab, conquered the Indus valley, and the north-western Punjab including Taxila and Peshawar. Then they overran and annexed western Indian regions from Kathiawar to Mathura.



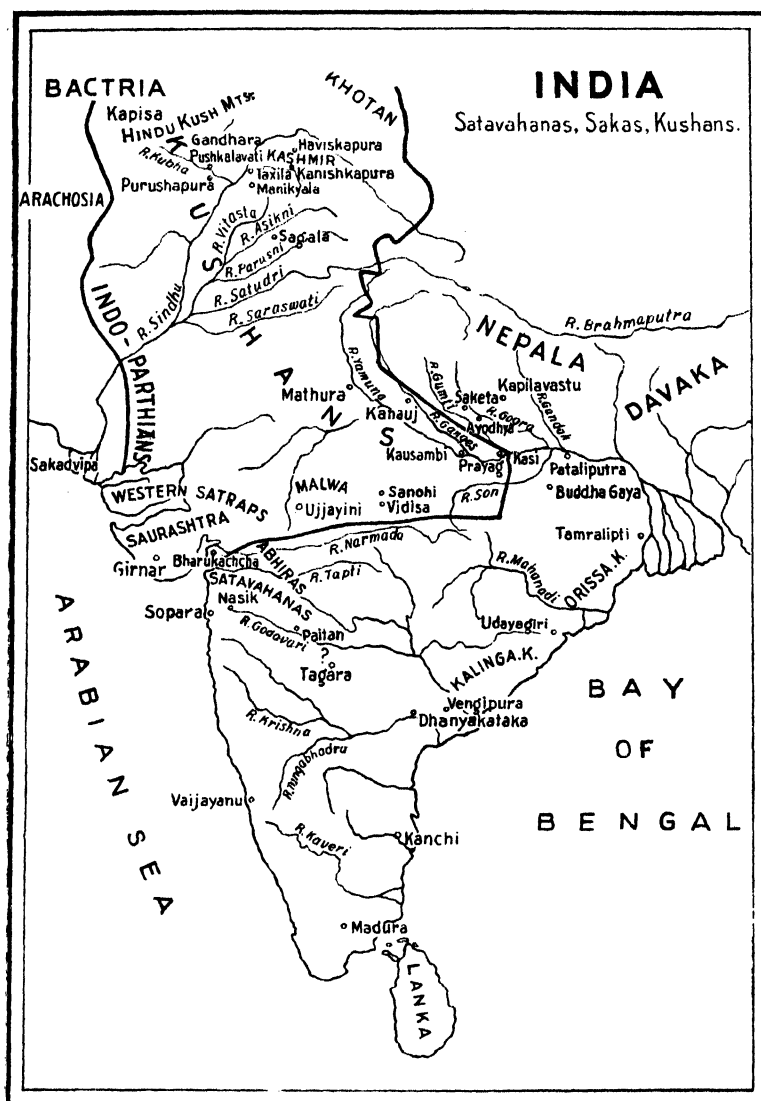
The Sakas who settled in these regions acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pahlava kings of Iran, and ruled as their feudatories. The names of the suzerains and the feudatories, therefore, appeared together on their coins. The first definite name in the list of the Saka rulers is that of the great king Moga (Maues) who brought Yavana rule to an end in the Punjab. He flourished about the last quarter of the first century B.C. His successor was Azes I, who was also a powerful monarch. The fifth ruler of the line was Gondophernes, who was probably on the throne between A.D. 19 and 45.

4. (a) **The Satavahanas, the Sakas and the Kushanas 27 B.C.—A.D. 300**

General Conditions in India.—The Satavahanas continued to rule over the Deccan for over three hundred years. During this period they had to carry on constant struggle against the Sakas, who had established themselves in the north-western parts of India. During this period the Kushanas who had moved from Central Asia into Afghanistan established their dominion in northern India.

The later Satavahanas.—The Kanva empire had been brought to an end by a Satavahana king whose rule extended over the Deccan from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and included Berar and Malwa. But their success brought them into conflict with the Saka-Pahlavas, who were rapidly overrunning the western regions and the uplands of the central plateau. The Kshaharatas, the Saka governors of western India, had seized the principalities of Malwa, Berar and Konkan and established a satrapy, at Ujjain. Nahapana, a prince of this dynasty, became master of Maharashtra after depriving the Satavahanas of their western territories.

Of the Satavahanas of the first century and after little is known. The name of Hala, with whom an anthology of old Marathi poems (*Sattasai*) is associated, is recorded in history. The next important king is Gautamiputra Satakarni who attacked the Kshaharatas of western India. He extirpated their dynasty and re-established his power over Maharashtra. The provinces of Berar, Eastern and Western Malwa, Kathiawar, and North Konkan were re-occupied, and the boundaries of the Satavahana kingdom extended from the Vindhya to the Travancore hills, and from sea to sea. Vasishtiputra Shri Pulumayi, who was a



successor of Gautamiputra, married the daughter of Rudradaman, the Saka satrap of Ujjain. But Rudradaman did not spare his son-in-law, whom he defeated twice. Yajna Shri Satakarni, the next Satavahana king who ruled in the latter part of the second century A.D., continued the struggle against the Saka satraps of Ujjain. He inflicted defeats upon them, and recovered some of

the territories seized by Rudradaman. He ruled over Maharashtra in the west and Andhra territories in the east, and his coins seem to indicate that he had command of sea forces too.

The Satavahana power came to an end in the Western Deccan after the death of Yajna Shri. The later kings of the dynasty ruled in the Krishna and Godavari districts with Dhanakataka (Amravati) as their capital during the third century A.D.

The Downfall of the Satavahanas.—The causes of the decline of the power of the Satavahanas are not well understood. All that can be said is that in the first place their struggle with the Sakas undoubtedly exhausted their strength; secondly, their military viceroys who governed the provinces, gradually asserted their independence; and in the third place, new tribes, clans and families seized parts of their dominions.

The Satavahana empire was divided into provinces under feudatory governors who bore the titles of *Maharathis*, *Mahasenapatis*, etc. Some of the feudatories belonged to the Naga race. One of their family was known as Chutus, who ruled at Banavasi (Kuntala), and with whom were related the Pallavas who held authority in the South-eastern Deccan. During the middle of the third century the Nagas, Chutus, Pallavas and Abhiras established themselves in the dominions which were ruled by the Saka satraps. The Nagas occupied the territory which included Vidisa (Bhilsa), Padmavati (Marwar in Gwalior territory), Kantipuri (Kanti near Mirzapur) and Mathura. The Abhiras overran Gujarat and Maharashtra. The authority of the Sakas was then confined to Saurashtra only.

The whole of India was in this way broken up into small principalities again. In the north-west the Kushanas held sway, but in Magadha the Guptas were growing into importance. In the eastern parts of the Deccan local princes ruled over Kalinga, and the Pallavas at Kanchi in the south; in the Central Deccan the Vakatakas ruled the country between the Narmada and the Bhima rivers. The Kadambas and the Abhiras were their neighbours in the west. Kalinga during this period was under the famous king Kharavela.

The Saka-Pahlava Satraps.—In the first century B.C. the Sakas and Pahlavas had become masters of Afghanistan, the Punjab and Western India from the Jamuna river to the Arabian Sea. Their dominion was divided into a number of provinces which were ruled by satraps. The satrap (Kshatrapa) as the head of the provincial government, was charged with the duty

of collecting taxes, administering justice and maintaining peace and order. He was assisted by a council and controlled by royal secretaries and emissaries. Every Great Satrap was associated with a satrap, who was usually his son, in the government of the province.

The capitals of the satraps were at Kapisa, Taxila, Mathura, Ujjain and Junnar.

The Satraps of Ujjain belonged to the family of Kshaharata. They carved out a principality from the Satavahana empire which influenced the whole of Western India and Maharashtra. Ajmer, Nasik, Poona and Mandsor were also included in their dominions. Nahapana was a noted ruler among them. The Sakas were expelled from Satavahana dominions by Guatami-putra Satakarni who drove them out of Maharashtra. After the overthrow of the Kshaharatas another family of satraps rose into prominence in Western India. Chashtana and his son, Jayadaman, founded the power of this family, but Rudradaman I extended his sway in all directions. He was a learned prince who made an alliance with the Satavahanas by marrying his daughter to Raja Vasishthiputra Shri Pulumayi or to his successor, Vasishthiputra Satakarni. He was a great conqueror who twice defeated his son-in-law and extended his dominion over Eastern and Western Malwa, Southern Rajputana, Gujarat, Kathiawar, Northern Konkan and a portion of Central India. Thus the Satavahanas lost the western part of their dominions a second time. The Sakas in their turn suffered defeat at the end of the second century A.D. at the hands of Abhiras. Rudradaman's successors, ousted from northern Maharashtra and the Deccan, continued to rule in Saurashtra till they were overthrown by the Guptas at the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

The Kushanas.—The Kushanas were a section of the horde of nomadic Scythians who lived in ancient times in the north-western province of the Chinese empire. The horde was known to the Chinese by the name of Yeuh-Chi. In the second century B.C. they were forced to migrate westwards. On their march they defeated the Sakas, who occupied the territory north of the Jaxartes river, and ultimately came into the valley of the Oxus where they settled down. Here they were divided into five sections or principalities. In the beginning of the first century A.D. the Kushan principality, under the chieftaincy of Kadphises, succeeded in establishing its superiority over the others. They were at this time occupying the country north of the Hindukush mountains.

Kadphises crossed the mountains and conquered Kabul and Gandhara from the Yavanas and Pahlavas. He died in A.D. 64 and was succeeded by his son, who is known as Wema-Kadphises. He extended Kushana dominion over Northern India, sweeping away the Pahlava and Saka rulers from the Punjab, Rajputana and the Indus Valley. Wema ruled over a vast empire and had relations with China and Rome, with both of whom brisk trade seems to have been carried on.

On his death Kanishka succeeded to the throne. He was a warlike prince, who conquered Kashmir and Kashghar, Yarkand, and Khotan, which lay north-west of Tibet. He fought many wars with the rulers of India, Parthia and China. The territories over which he held sway included Eastern Turkestan, Afghanistan, Kashmir, the Punjab, Rajputana, Sindh and the Ganga valley up to Patna. The Saka satraps of Ujjain also acknowledged his suzerainty. He made Peshawar his capital, where he erected a



Copyright: Archaeological Survey of India.
Kanishka's Relic Casket.

great stupa when he was converted to Buddhism. He is identified as the ruler who introduced the Saka era which began in A.D. 78.

Kanishka, like Ashoka, is said to have been overtaken with remorse at the shedding of blood during his wars. He repented and became a convert to Buddhism. He held a council of the Buddhists of the northern lands in order to ascertain and fix the true doctrine, because there were many conflicting opinions prevailing at that time. The assembly met at Kundalavana in Kashmir, and completed the work of preparing commentaries on the *Tripitaka*.

Kanishka reigned for nearly forty-five years and was followed by Huvishka, who was succeeded by Vasudeva. Huvishka seemed to patronise both Buddhism and Hinduism, and Vasudeva, who ruled from Mathura in the third century was a follower of Saivism. After Vasudeva's death the power of the Kushanas declined. The Abhiras, Nagas and other tribes became powerful in the southern Punjab, and the Kushanas were left in possession only of Kabul and the north-western Punjab.

The South.—The land of the Tamils is that part of the peninsula which is surrounded by the sea on three sides, and which runs from Kalicut on the eastern coast to Venkatagiri (100 miles to the north-west of Madras), and thence to Badagara (near Mahe) on the western coast.

From early times the land was divided among three principalities. The Cholas occupied the north-eastern portion, and their capital was Uraiur (Tiruchirapalli), the Cheras or Keralas occupied the south-western region and had their capital at Vanji (on the Periyar river), and the Pandyas occupied the region between them, comprising the modern Madura and Tinnevely districts, and their first capital was Kolkai (on the Tamraparni river) and later Madura. There were many important coastal towns in the Tamil country which served as emporia for trade with countries beyond the seas. The three Tamil kingdoms were always fighting against one another. In early times (probably the first century A.D.), the Cholas acquired ascendancy over the others. After them the Cheras established their supremacy (probably in the second century A.D.), and lastly the Pandyas overthrew the Chera power and held their place from the second to the fourth century A.D.

The country was rich in pepper, pearls and precious stones, and it supplied these to distant lands. From the most ancient times merchants came from the north, west and east in search of these articles. The Romans paid for them with gold and so the

Tamils grew rich, built fleets and developed their arts and literature. The Jaina, Buddhist and Hindu faiths spread among them.

4. (b) Social Conditions, 325 B.C.–184 B.C.

Society.—The Vedic social system began to break down in this period. The old free tribal organisation according to which the Kshatriya families ruled and fought, the Brahmanas counselled and sacrificed, the Vaishyas engaged in economic pursuits, and the Shudras practised crafts or served, was modified when the Aryans settled down in the eastern regions. Here the Kshatriyas acquired domination and the Shudras formed the main part of the population.

The superiority of the Brahmanas was questioned and the Vaishyas lost their status. New untouchable classes became associated with society.

The new religions, which were founded by Kshatriya leaders and propagated by kings and noblemen, further weakened the old social organisation. The Vedic tribe was bound together by common worship and sacrifice. The new religions denounced the Vedic ritual and thus reduced the importance of the Brahmana. They placed great emphasis upon the monastic life and the practice of non-injury, and they created a feeling of indifference towards military pursuits among the Kshatriyas.

Even among the peoples who did not condemn the Vedic religion, sectarian cults arose in which Shiva, Vishnu and Bhagavata were worshipped as supreme deities.

Although neither Buddhism nor Jainism openly condemned the class divisions, the spirit underlying the old order, based upon a fourfold division of men, where each class performed its special function while remaining a part of the whole tribe, weakened.

Marriages between different castes and between Indians and foreigners were not unknown. The influx of foreigners who settled in India led to the formation of new caste groups. The class of officials tended to become hereditary.

The multiplication of castes and classes and the growth of large states led to the establishment of slavery.

The position of women, too, declined. Though they were honoured, their independence had diminished.

The increase of wealth and the growth of trade and industry gave an impetus to changes in society. Even some Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, with other classes, took to economic pursuits like trade and banking, and along with the class organisation

occupational organisations developed. The corporations of merchants, artisans, traders and bankers multiplied.

With the decline of the tribal organisation and the Vedic religion the era of small free states passed away. The wider economic outlook and the rise of universal religions strengthened the tendency towards larger political organisations.

Economic Life.—Agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Land in the village was divided into three parts: one part was under cultivation, another served as pasture for cattle, and the third remained forest. The king owned the land, and was entitled to a part of the produce as revenue, and he could replace one cultivator by another. The cultivator had the right to sub-divide his portion or to sell it. The cultivators formed the bulk of the population, and the higher classes obtained assignments of revenue from the king.

The village people were cultivators, herdsmen, hunters, artisans and traders.

Trade and industry were regulated by the state, which fixed the prices of articles, maintained the standards of weights and measures, and levied octrois and duties. The kings patronised arts and crafts, and employed skilled workmen in their workshops. The traders, artisans, bankers and others formed guilds and corporations which regulated the methods of production and business, and defended the members and their activities by maintaining soldiers.

The business class had a large share in increasing the prosperity of the country and swelling the revenue of the state. In the Mauryan period India traded with the countries of western Asia, the Persian Gulf, northern Africa, Greece and Italy; and in eastern Asia from Ceylon to China.

Indians had developed high skill in industries. The Indian cotton cloth was famous. Dresses worked in gold and adorned with precious stones, and plain and flowered muslins were exported in large quantities. Besides Indian arms like swords were in demand abroad. For navigation on rivers and seas boats and ships were built.

The period of Satavahana ascendancy in the Deccan was one of great prosperity. Trade and industry flourished, and coins of gold, silver and copper formed the currency. Indian merchandise was carried to China in the east, and to Rome and its provinces in the west. The country exported precious stones,

pearls, spices, cottons, silks and muslins, and received in return silver, gold, linen and metals.

The merchants, craftsmen and bankers had their associations or guilds, which managed their affairs and possessed self-government. The cities had their corporations with their own presidents, councils, registrars, etc.

4. (c) **Social Conditions, 184 B.C. to 300 A.D.**

Society.—The overthrow of the Maurya dynasty was due to the revival of the Brahmanic social and religious system. But this long period of nearly five centuries saw India divided into many kingdoms at war with one another, with the result that a number of foreign tribes invaded the country and established their rule over the north-western regions of India. The foreigners, however, settled down and became part of the Indian population. They adopted the Indian religious and social customs. Their groups became new castes.

The transfer of power from the Buddhist Maurya rulers to the Brahmanical Sungas and Kanvas restored the old superiority of the Brahmanas in society. The great code of Hindu laws, the *Manu Smriti*, exalted the high status of Brahmanas. It also showed the caste system well established, and society divided both according to class and caste. Many subcastes had also sprung up. Thus the social system had become more complex, but was not changed essentially. The Kshatriyas seem to have lost prominence. The Vaishyas and Shudras had come nearer, as both followed a number of common occupations. The slaves continued to perform domestic service apart from working as craftsmen. The untouchables were allotted mean tasks.

Marriages between upper class men and lower class women (*anuloma*), and between Indians and foreigners were not prohibited, but were not common. Widow marriage was not permitted by Manu, who assigned a low status to women.

In the Deccan, apart from the caste system, society was divided into several ranks. The feudatory nobles known as *Maharathas*, *Mahabhojas* and *Mahasenapatis* came first. Next to them were royal officers in charge of districts and land revenue collection, mayors of cities and masters of guilds of merchants and bankers. After them came writers, physicians, goldsmiths, druggists and cultivators. Carpenters, gardeners, blacksmiths and fishermen formed the lowest class.

Religion.—Buddhism continued for some time after the Mauryas to be the popular religion, but it underwent changes.

A number of Buddhist Councils met after the death of Buddha to resolve the differences among his followers on matters relating to doctrine and discipline. The first meeting was held soon after the passing away of the great reformer. The sacred books—*Tripitaka*, were compiled by the Council. The second council took place about a hundred years later at Vaishali.

The Buddhists were divided into two groups of easterners and westerners, between whom there were differences regarding discipline. The two groups developed into *Mahayana* (great vehicle) and *Hinayana* (small vehicle).

A third council is said to have been called by Ashoka, who sent missionaries to the neighbouring countries of West Asia and Ceylon, where his son Mahendra preached the religion.

Kanishka, the Kushan King who ruled from Kashmir over north-western India, was the patron of the fourth council. It prepared commentaries of the revised texts according to the Hinayana sect.

The Mahayana spread widely in India and abroad. Its books were composed in Sanskrit. It also inspired the building of temples and stupas and installing of images. Mahayana elevated the Buddha to the position of God, and created a number of noble and beneficent Bodhisatvas.

The Hinayana sect spread to Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Lagos. Its texts were composed in Prakrit and Pali.

The Jains.—Jainism began to spread in the Mauryan period both in the north and the Deccan. The northern Jaina monks wore clothes and were known as Svetambaras; the southern Jains lived naked and were called Digambaras. The Svetambaras largely inhabited the western regions—Kathiawar, Gujarat and parts of Rajasthan. The Digambaras spread in the central Deccan, Mysore and southern Andhra.

The Jaina teachings were collected in 12 book (*Angas*). While the doctrines of Jainism resemble Buddhism, there is more emphasis upon monastic life. Its domestic rites and worship of images of the Tirthankaras in temples are similar to those of the Hindus. The Jains lay great emphasis upon non-killing (*ahimsa*). They inspired greatly the early literature in Tamil.

The Hindu religion also showed a tendency to change. The orthodox remained faithful to the Vedic gods and rites, but a number of sects arose which exalted one God above all others. They made Him the object of personal devotion, and used rites of non-Vedic origin. Among the sects the most important were

the worshippers of Vishnu and Shiva. Under the influence of Buddhism and Jainism animal sacrifice began to be disliked. The modes of worship followed in these religions were similar and required the building of temples containing relics and images, and of monasteries and rest-houses for monks. These religions attracted the attention of the Yavanas and Sakas who had settled in India, and their princes and peoples became converts to them, e.g., Menander became a Buddhist and Heliodorus a Vaishnava Bhagavata.

The Hinduism of the post-Mauryan and specially of the Gupta period is different from the Vedic religion in many ways, but the later Hindus recognised the authority of the Vedas and held them as sacred scriptures.

Many of the old gods and goddesses were no longer the object of adoration. Worship of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva had become popular. The Vedic public sacrifices were replaced by worship in temples, with offerings of fruit, milk, flower, etc., before the images of gods.

For spreading the Hindu religion the Puranas were compiled. They contain the description of the origin and history of the world, the account of dynasties which ruled in India, the stories of gods, the praises of their deeds, and the manner of performing the ceremonies and rites of worship. Much of this worship was done in temples in which idols were installed.

Although a number of religions prevailed in this period, there was little religious strife or persecution. There was a great deal of toleration and in fact some kings and noblemen patronised them equally. The change of religion did not involve loss of caste.

Political Conditions.—In the ancient times the functions of government were limited to the protection of Law or Dharma and of the security of the people from disorder within and attack from without. It was the duty of the king to see that the injunctions of Law which were given in the sacred books (*Smritis*) were observed. In other words, the state did not make laws, but administered the laws and dispensed justice. The laws relating to inheritance, marriage and status of persons were mainly interpreted and applied by the learned Pandits, laws affecting safety of person and property, crime or injury to life or limb were administered by government officials.

The king was the head of the government. He was the leader in war, the patron of art and culture and the supreme judge in

important causes. He appointed the higher officials. The highest officials were ministers (*mantris*) who formed a council (*mantri parishad*). Among them one was regarded as prime or chief minister. Under each minister there was a department with a superintendent and a number of assistants.

The kingdom was divided into provinces and districts. In the Satavahana kingdom the feudatory lords or princes ruled over the provinces, below them were officers with high military ranks and civil officials known as *Mahamantras*, *Amatyas*. The departments at the centre or in the provinces were placed in charge of officers.

The revenue of the state was derived mainly from the land tax which varied from one-eighth to one-fourth of the produce. Numerous other taxes were levied on a large number of articles.

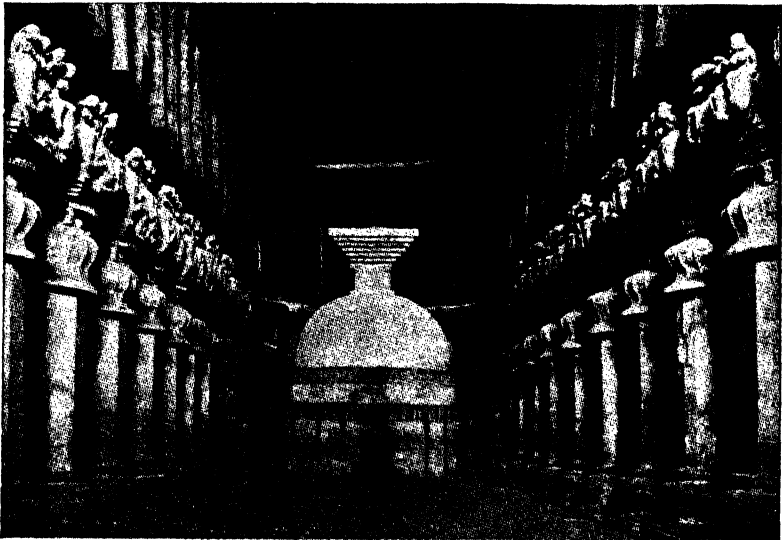


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Sanchi east gate, depicting the return to Kapilavastu.

Then there were duties on trade and on sale of goods. The artisans had to render their labour free for king's work for a day in each month.

Art.—The Mauryas had begun building stupas with railings round them, but their works were plain and simple. But after them a number of monuments were erected, which were adorned with beautiful sculptures on the rails, posts and gates. Among these the most remarkable are at Bharhut (near Satna, between Allahabad and Jubbulpore), Sanchi (near Bhopal) and Buddha Gaya. The carvings on these buildings represent scenes from the life of the Buddha, and illustrate the legends and miracles connected with his career.

Besides displaying wonderful skill in workmanship, they are extremely interesting as mirrors of the social and religious life of



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Interior of Karli cave.

those times. The art is natural and humane, full of humour and fancy. It depicts a gay, happy and care-free life, and looks upon the world not as a place of misery and suffering but as full of enjoyment.

Many temples, monasteries and halls were erected or dug out of hills in many parts of India, e.g., Orissa, Mathura, Nasik, Karli, etc. The temples were decorated with paintings on the walls and ceilings. Of the earliest cave temples those at Ajanta are famous all over the world.

In Gandhara the Yavanas developed a new style of sculpture. They applied Greek forms to Buddhist subjects, and were the first to make an image of the Buddha which became the model for subsequent images. The art of the Gandhara school exerted some influence at Mathura, which was for a long time under foreign rule. But at Sarnath, Amaravati and other places, Indians followed their own traditions and evolved their own forms.

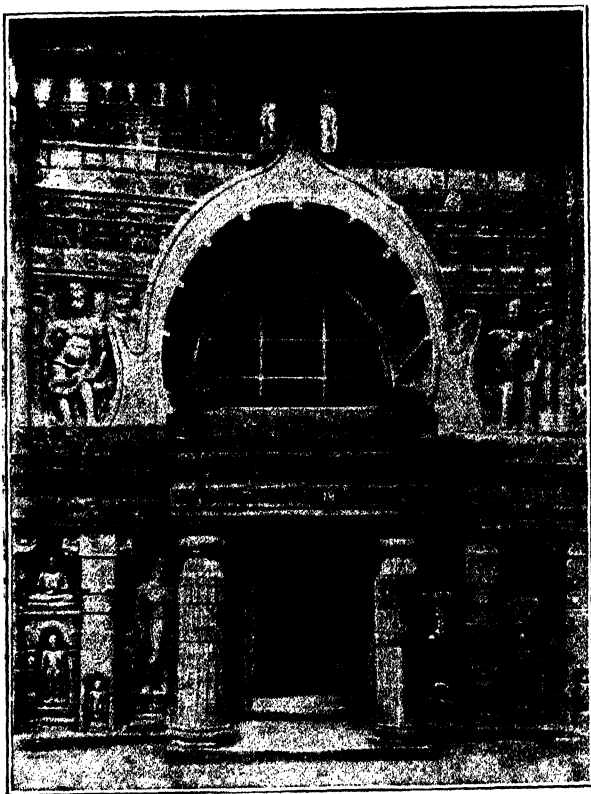


Photo: Arch. Dept., Hyderabad.
Ajanta, Cave XIX.

Literature.—The Prakrits were used by the kings in their inscriptions and other documents. They were also the media of religious thought, as the sacred books of the Jainas and the Buddhists were composed in them, for example, the *Milindapanho* and the *Gathas*. One form of the Prakrit, i.e., the old Marathi,

was used for the first time in the anthology of verses associated with king Hala, and in the collection of stories known as the *Brihatkatha* compiled by his minister Gunadhaya.

Sanskrit was the speech of the learned, especially among the Hindus. It was widely known and spoken, and even during this period it had begun to be used for state purposes. Not only were the Hindu religious and philosophical works composed in it, the Buddhists and Jainas also began to employ it. The literary, scientific and technical treatises were written in Sanskrit.

Among the Buddhist writers Nagarjuna and Ashvaghosh lived in these times. The first was a great philosopher, and the second both a philosopher and a poet. Ashvaghosh composed a life of the Buddha and a number of dramas. Learning and literature in Sanskrit made much progress during this period. The epics *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, the dramas of Bhasa and a number of long poems were composed. Scientific studies in grammar (*Vyakarana*), the art of drama (*Natya Sastra*), politics (*Rajniti*) and medicine (*Chikitsa*) made their appearance.

Literary works were composed in Prakrit and Tamil languages also. During the period a Tamil academy (*Sangam*) flourished to promote literature. Among its works three anthologies have survived, which are idylls dedicated to kings. Besides there are some Tamil epics—*Silappadikaram* relates the story of an erring husband and his faithful wife, and *Manimekhalai* of a woman who consecrates herself to the service of the Buddhist faith.

Indians abroad.—The Indians of this period were an adventurous people. Their merchants visited all parts of the world, carrying Indian commodities to Africa, Europe and countries to the east, west and north. Indian missionaries propagated Hinduism and Buddhism wherever their merchants went. Indian scholars translated books from Prakrit and Sanskrit into Chinese and other languages. Indian culture spread to all parts of Asia.

Indian settlers built up a vast colonial empire in south-eastern Asia. They first appeared in Burma and Siam. In the first or second century A.D. the Hindu kingdom of Champa was established in South Siam, and at about the same time Cambodia, Java, the Malaya peninsula, the islands of Sumatra, Bali and Borneo were colonised.

Indians also settled in Central Asia, in Khotan and in the lands of Eastern Turkestan. Documents written in Indian characters

and Indian languages, figures of the Buddhist gods and goddesses and other remains have been found scattered there amidst deserts and in the towns now buried under sand. Indian colonies existed in Mesopotamia, at Alexandria on the mouth of the Nile, and in East Africa.

5. (a) **The Empires of the North, A.D. 300–800**

From the third century to the eighth, Northern India was united under the political supremacy first of the Guptas and then of the Vardhanas. At the same time the Deccan, which at the beginning of the period was divided into numerous principalities, eventually recognised the ascendancy of the Chalukyas. In the south, the Pallavas gradually established their power at the expense of their neighbours in the Tamil land. The Huna invasions from the north-west in the fifth century created political disturbance, but they were resisted successfully, and the Hunas were absorbed in the Indian population.

This period is one of the most brilliant in the cultural history of India. It saw the triumph of Hinduism, the disappearance of Buddhism, and the decay of Jainism. Art, literature, science and philosophy flourished abundantly, and India attained unprecedented prosperity and glory.

The Guptas.—For over three hundred years after the extinction of the Kanva dynasty, Magadha remained in obscurity. In the beginning of the fourth century, out of the many petty local rajas one gained prominence. He was Chandragupta, who married a princess belonging to the ancient Lichchhavi clan, and laid the foundation of the greatness of his dynasty. He extended his dominion as far west as Allahabad, assumed the title of *Maharajadhiraj* and established a new era in A.D. 320.

Samudragupta, A.D. 330–375.—Chandragupta was succeeded by his son, Samudragupta. He was an ambitious and warlike prince who desired to make his kingdom supreme. In the early years of his reign he led an expedition into the Eastern Deccan. From Pataliputra he marched towards the south and conquered South Kosala. Then crossing the forests of Central India and the Mahanadi river, he reached the coast of Orissa and captured the towns and ports in the Godavari and Krishna districts. He marched south to Kanchi on the Palar river where Vishnugopa, the Pallava king, was ruling. He defeated the princes of the Eastern Deccan, but restored them to their principalities and returned to his capital. Then he turned his attention to the

chieftains ruling in the Gangetic valley, and incorporated their territories in his kingdom. The chiefs of the forest tribes in the Vindhyas made their submission, and the northern parts of the Vakataka territories were annexed. The boundaries of the dominions over which he held sway extended from the Brahmaputra in the east to the Jamuna and the Chambal in the west; and from the Himalayas in the north to the Narmada in the south.

The successes of Samudragupta so deeply impressed the princes and peoples beyond his dominions that many of them paid him homage and tribute. Among them were the republican tribes of the Punjab, Rajputana and Malwa, the ruling chiefs in East Bengal and Assam, and the hill states of Kumaon, Garhwal and Kangra. He received embassies from the Kushan kings of Kabul and the Buddhist king of Ceylon.

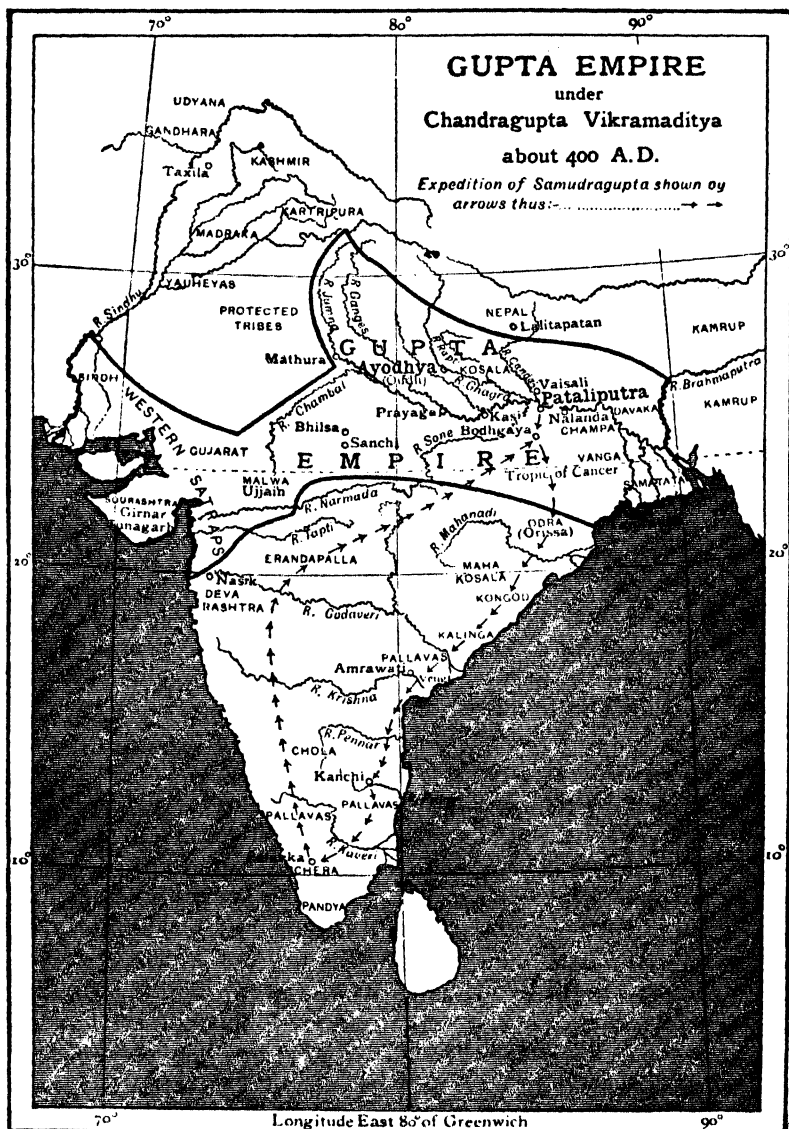
In order to proclaim his triumphs he celebrated the *Ashvamedha* sacrifice, made generous gifts to the Brahmanas and struck a special issue of his coinage.

Samudragupta was a man of extraordinary abilities. He was a great general who achieved many successes, and a capable statesman who maintained peace, order and prosperity in the vast empire which he had conquered. He took much delight in the arts of poetry and music, which he practised with skill, and he showed keen and intelligent interest in philosophy and religion. He died after a reign which lasted nearly fifty years.

Chandragupta II, A.D. 375-415.—His immediate successor was Ramagupta, who reigned for only two years. Then Chandragupta Vikramaditya married his brother's wife, and succeeded to the throne. He was as ambitious as his father, and equally capable. In order to accomplish his aims of conquest he first entered into an alliance with the Vakataka ruler of the Deccan, who occupied the territories in Bundelkhand. He gave his daughter in marriage to the king of the Deccan and obtained his support. He then turned his attention to the conquest of the western regions. He defeated and slew the last of the Saka satraps and annexed Malwa, Gujarat and Saurashtra. The empire thus gained not only rich and fertile territories, but also the commerce of the towns on the sea coast.

Vikramaditya made Ujjain the second capital of the empire, and Ayodhya one of the headquarters of his government.

Fa-Hien, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India during this reign and remained in India from A.D. 405 to 411. He bears testimony to the wealth, prosperity and happiness of the people, and the



tolerance, good government and humane rule of the emperor.

The military triumphs of Chandragupta II, and his patronage of arts and letters, have made him the hero of popular imagination, and innumerable legends have grown round the memory of his glorious reign. His court counted amidst its members nine gems,

or brilliant men of letters, among whom Kalidasa is by far the most famous.

The Successors of Chandragupta Vikramaditya.—

Chandragupta was succeeded by Kumaragupta I, who ruled from 415 to 455. He successfully maintained the unity of the empire, although he had to face serious troubles during the concluding years of his reign, which threatened to put an end to the empire.

His successor was Skandhagupta, whose reign witnessed the first irruption of the Hunas into India. The Hunas (or white Ephthalites or Yethas) were a barbarous people who inhabited the steppes of Central Asia, and who migrated in search of pasture lands towards the Volga in the west and Oxus in the south. They overthrew the Kushan rulers of Kabul and poured into India. Their first inroads were repelled by Skandhagupta in 455, and till his death in 467 the Hunas did not again disturb the tranquillity of the empire.

After the death of Skandhagupta, the decline of the Gupta empire set in. The Huna inroads became more frequent and foreign rulers once again established themselves in some parts of the country. Apart from these foreign invasions, internal disruption had also commenced. The rulers were weak and unable to hold the large empire. Within a period of ten years as many as three emperors ruled in quick succession. In 476, however, Buddhagupta became emperor and retrieved the situation. His rule extended over territory from Malwa to Bengal. During his reign the Huna raids again ceased. But he died in 500, and his death was followed by a disputed succession as well as the return of the Hunas in greater force.

The Hunas had established themselves beyond the Indus. Their leader, Toramana, conquered Gandhara and soon after 530 carried his victorious arms up to Malwa. He established his power over western and Central India, and his son Mihiragula made Sakala (Sialkot) his capital.

The Guptas had lost Malwa, but Baladitya expelled the Hunas from Central India. Their final overthrow was achieved by a confederacy of princes led by Yashodharman of Mandsor, about 528 A.D. Mihiragula was forced to retire to Kashmir where he died.

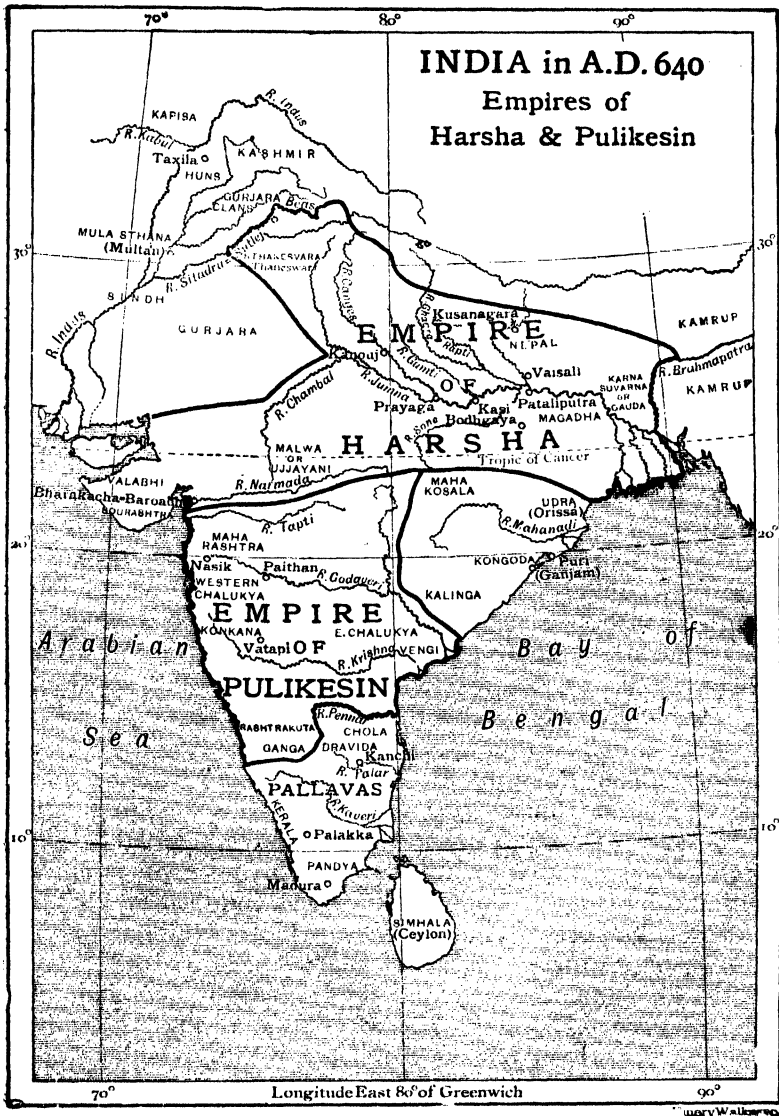
The Gupta empire broke up under the stress of these wars. The successors of Baladitya lost a great part of their dominions. A new dynasty, which bore the name of Maukharis, rose into prominence in the Doab and Magadha. The Maitrakas

established a dynasty with Valabhi as their capital in Malwa. The Gaudas of Bengal began their encroachments from the east, and the Chalukyas, who had attained ascendancy in the Deccan, exerted pressure from the south. The authority of the Guptas was confined to Magadha where they continued to rule till the first half of the eighth century.

The Vardhanas, A.D. 600-648.—The confusion which the Huna invasions produced in India gave the opportunity to Raja Prabhakar Vardhana of Thaneswar to raise his principality to considerable prominence by waging successful wars against his neighbours. When he died, his eldest son, Rajya Vardhana, succeeded him in 606 A.D. His sister was married to the Maukhari Raja of Kanauj, who was attacked and slain by the King of Malwa. To avenge the death of his brother-in-law Rajya Vardhana led an expedition against the king of Malwa and defeated him, but was himself treacherously slain in 606 A.D. by Sasanka, the ruler of Central Bengal. His brother, Harsha Vardhana, then ascended the throne. He was an able and energetic king, and fond of conquest and dominion. Within five years of his accession, he brought the greater part of Northern India under his control. The Raja of Valabhi was reduced to the position of a vassal, and the Rajas of Gujarat and Kathiawar were forced to pay tribute. He failed, however, to subdue the Deccan, for Pulakesin II of the Chalukya dynasty so successfully defended the frontier that Harsha was unable to cross the Narmada. The last campaign of the king was an attack on Ganjam on the eastern coast in 643 A.D.

Harsha ruled an empire which extended over the whole of Northern India from the Himalayas to the Narmada, and from Assam to the Arabian Sea. The Punjab and Rajaputana were not, however, included in the empire. He was an enlightened and benevolent ruler who took a keen personal interest in the administration of the empire. He was continually touring round his dominions and inspecting the work of his officers. During his time, taxes were light and crime was rare. But travelling was less safe than in the Gupta period, and punishments were more severe.

Harsha was a patron of literary men and himself a versatile writer. He wrote a number of dramas of high merit. Bana, the famous author of *Harshacharita*, lived at his court. Harsha was very tolerant in his religious opinions. He convened great religious assemblies at Kanauj to deliberate upon religious quest-



ions, and every five years he held an assembly at the confluence of the Ganga and Jamuna at Prayag, where he distributed charities on a large scale among the followers of all religions. During the last years of his life, he adopted the Buddhist religion.

Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India during

his reign, has left an interesting record of the conditions of the country in those times.

Harsha died in 647 A.D. He left no heir, and his death plunged the country into disorder. The princes and the chiefs who had been kept together by the power of the imperial arms asserted their independence, and for the next five hundred years Northern India remained politically divided.

The Deccan after the Satavahanas.—When the Satavahana dynasty passed away, the Deccan broke up into small principalities.

Geographically the Deccan consisted of three main parts: (1) the eastern region, i.e. Kalinga and Andhradesh, or the region between the Mahanadi and Krishna rivers; (2) the central plateau or the region of Madhya Pradesh and Berar, and (3) the western part of India, or roughly the territory which included south-western Rajputana, Kathiawar, and extended to the northern part of Konkan.

In the eastern region Kalinga, which in earlier times had been under the powerful rule of Kharavela of the Chedi dynasty, was in this period divided into small principalities. They were brought under the control of the Gupta emperors. After their decline in the fifth century several petty chiefs held sway over a divided Kalinga. Then a new royal house known as the Eastern Gangas established their rule over central Kalinga and the Chalukyas annexed the Godavari district.

Andhradesh to the south was ruled by the Ikshvaku dynasty, which was founded only in the third century A.D. Their capital was the city of Vijayapuri near Nagarjunikonda lake. They strengthened their position by marrying in the royal families of Ujjain and Banavasi. They professed the Buddhist religion.

The kingdom was occupied by the Pallavas about the end of the third century. Then in the fifth century the Pallavas were driven out and indigenous families established themselves in different parts. Among them the Anandas were probably responsible for driving out the Pallavas. But the Vishnu Kunda Kings were the most powerful. Their charters mention that they performed many Ashvamedha Yajnas (horse sacrifices), which are ordinarily the privilege of great conquerors.

The central region of the Deccan had been under the dominion of the Satavahanas. On the decline of their power in the third century A.D. the authority passed into the hands of the Vakataka family. The founder of the line is known by the name of Vindhya-

sakti who was a Brahmana. His son Haritiputra Pravarasena extended his dominions from Bundelkhand in the north to Hyderabad in the south. After him the kingdom was divided into two branches. The capital of the one was in the Nagpur district and that of the other at Vatsagulma in the Akola district.

The kings of the Nagpur line became dependent on Emperor Samudragupta. One of them, Rudrasena II, married Prabhavati, daughter of Chandragupta II. In the fifth century the Kingdom passed out of history. Among the kings of the Akola line, Harisena was a great conqueror whose influence was extended in every direction. But under his successors their decline began and by the beginning of the sixth century their territory became a part of other principalities.

The Vakatakas were patrons of learning and art. Some of the caves of Ajanta were excavated and adorned with paintings during their rule. Then the central parts of the Deccan passed into the hands of the Nala dynasty which was overthrown by the Rashtrakutas.

In Western Deccan, a people known as Abhiras rose into prominence and occupied the territories in Western India after the decline of the Sakas and Satavahanas. Little is known about their history. Their territories were annexed by Samudragupta and the Traikutaka Kings of Northern Konkan.

The Kalachuri family, which was settled in the Anupa country on the Narmada river, became powerful in the second half of the sixth century. They attacked the Abhiras and occupied parts of Gujarat, Malwa and Maharashtra. Later, they were forced out of these territories. Then they moved towards the east and settled in the Jubbulpore region.

Among their notable rulers may be named Krishnaraja and his son Sankaragana. They were masters of the Nasik district in the south and Malwa in the north. Sankaragana claimed to be the lord of the regions from the western to the eastern sea-shore.

His descendants lost their kingdom to the Chalukyas.

5. (b) Society and Civilisation, A.D. 300–800

Society.—During the half millennium of the rule of the Guptas and their successors, the Vardhanas, India was visited by Chinese and Arab travellers and their accounts afford some outside information about the life of the people.

Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsang were two Chinese pilgrims who undertook the long journey from their country in order to see the Buddhist holy places in India and to learn the doctrines of religion. Fa-Hien's voyage took place during the reign of Chandragupta II and Hiuen-Tsang's when Harsha Vardhana ruled.

Besides the accounts of the Chinese the literary works of the times, legends inscribed on coins and copper plates, etc., are the main sources of information of the times.



Photo: Arch. Dept., Hyderabad.

Toilet scene, Ajanta, Cave XVII.

In this period society was undergoing change as a result of the spread of Hinduism. The caste system was becoming more rigid in defining the social status of persons. But there was much laxity about occupation. The respect for the Brahmanas was enhanced. Laws forbidding intermarriage and interdining were followed more strictly, although higher caste men were still allowed to marry lower caste women, but their children did not belong to the caste of the father.

Among the Kshatriyas the Rajputs were most prominent. Their numbers had increased by the entrance of foreigners like Hunas, Sakas and Gurjaras among the clans.

Women were not ordinarily considered fit for public life, but some upper class women shared in administration. The seclusion of women of the higher caste was coming into practice. But queens and princesses did not observe *Pardah*. One man could marry more than one wife, and the immolation (*sati*) of a woman on the death of her husband was regarded meritorious.

The Chinese pilgrims observed that the moral character of the Indian people in general was high. They were truthful, honest and charitable and they lived simple and pure lives. But the amenities of life and luxuries had much increased, especially for the rich and the noble, who lived in large mansions, wore costly dresses, jewels and ornaments and indulged in rich food and drink.

Religion.—The Vedic religion had undergone great changes during the period of the Mauryan rule. But with the establishment of the Brahmana empires in the north and the Deccan, Buddhism and Jainism began to lose their popularity and began to be transformed under the influence of the rising Hindu sects. Mahayana Buddhism, which was evolved under the Kushana patronage, bears close resemblance to Hinduism. It recognises Buddha as the supreme god, believes in many incarnations of the Buddha and in many Bodhisatvas, who resemble Hindu gods and goddesses. It is a religion of devotion, and its rites and ceremonies are similar to those of Hinduism. When Fa-Hien visited India early in the fifth century this religion was flourishing; but by the time of Hiuen-Tsang in the reign of Harsha, it had lost ground, and in the centuries following his departure it was absorbed into Hinduism.

The Jains had become divided in the first century into the two sects of Svetambaras and Digambaras. The former sect flourished in the north and the latter in the south. The Jain a

worship was developed on the models of the Buddhist and Hindu worship. Temples and stupas and devotional exercises were used. But although Buddhism gradually disappeared from India, Jainism continued to make progress in Bihar, Kathiawar and the southern lands.

Hinduism attained great popularity and found the fullest expression in the abundant literature of the times. The Hinduism of the age, however, differed in many respects from the ancient Vedic religion. It was a sectarian religion in which the place of Vedic gods was taken by Vishnu, Shiva, Durga, Surya (sun), Ganesha and other Pauranic gods. The Vedic sacrifices were largely displaced by the simple rites laid down in the *Smritis*. The killing of animals for sacrifice or for food was considered evil, and the principle of non-injury to the living (*ahimsa*) became a part of the faith. The doctrine of the incarnation of God (*avatars*) was recognised.

In order to establish Hinduism firmly, philosophical treatises were compiled for the learned and popular works for the ordinary people. Among the first are the six famous systems of Hindu philosophy known as the *Darshanas*, and among the latter are *Mahabharata*, *Harivansha* and the eighteen *Puranas*, which were finally revised and compiled. The great teacher Kumarila Bhatta, revived the study of *Mimansa* (the philosophy of the Vedic ritual.) The decline of Buddhism and the spread of Hinduism were not, however, brought about by the use of political power. The followers of the various religions in India were tolerant of one another's faith, and did not persecute those who differed from them. The disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth was due largely to its transformation. It became so like Hinduism that it ceased to exist as a separate religion. Many of its doctrines, however, were adopted by the new Hindu sects and philosophies.

Government.—The position of the monarch was a very exalted one. The titles of the Gupta emperors and other rulers were extremely high-sounding, e.g., 'Great Lord of Kings' (*Maharajadhiraja*), 'supreme lord' (*Parameshvara*), 'the most wonderful one' (*Param Bhattaraka*), 'the most divine' (*Param daivata*), etc. The kings looked upon their subjects as their children for whose welfare they were personally responsible. Their power was unbounded within their own realm. When they conquered any neighbouring state they were content to make the vanquished ruler their subordinate and feudatory who paid

them tribute, but was otherwise free to administer his territories without interference. The empires were thus constituted of loosely connected principalities which recognised an overlord.

The monarchs maintained magnificent courts, which were attended by feudatories, ministers, important personages, poets, favourites, foreign envoys and others. The elaborate machinery of government worked efficiently under the able rulers of these times. According to the testimony of Fa-Hien the country was prosperous and the people were happy. The towns were large and flourishing; the capital, Pataliputra, was adorned with splendid palaces, temples, and monasteries. There were houses of rest on the highways, houses of charity for the poor, and houses of healing for the sick. People were pious and spent much wealth in performing religious ceremonies and maintaining priests and monks. The government was mild, taxes were light, and the freedom enjoyed by the people was considerable. The picture of India which Hiuen-Tsang has drawn in the book of his travels in the seventh century does not differ much from that of Fa-Hien.

It is not certain whether there was a ministerial council to assist the monarch, but he had a number of high ministers whose office was often hereditary. The number of officials had grown large in this age, but there was no distinction between civil and military officials, or between executive, judicial and revenue officers.

The central government had a number of departments for administering the country. The heads of the departments were known as ministers (*mantris*). Other high dignitaries were the Commander-in-Chief of the army, the generals of the infantry, cavalry and elephant corps, and the chief executive officers.

The empire was divided into a number of provinces (*Desa*, *Bhukti*) which were governed by wardens (*gopas*) or supervisors (*uparikas*), or princes (*maharajaputras*). The *Amatyas* and *Ayuktas* were officers who acted between the centre and the provinces.

The provinces were divided into districts (*Pradesa*, *Visaya*) which were administered by district officers (*Visayapati*). The provincial governors and the district officers had many subordinate officers under them.

The villages were under headmen (*Gramika*), with whom certain village elders were probably associated for administration.

The towns had their own system of administration, but the city officer was appointed by the governor of the province.

The officials were often chosen from the same families, and their office tended to go down from father to son.

The empires of this period were loose federations of semi-independent chiefs who paid homage and tribute to the emperor who ruled directly over his own kingdom, but were otherwise autonomous. They always took advantage of the weakness of the central government to reassert their independence.

Besides the feudatories there were numerous great and small rulers beyond the boundaries of the empire who did not owe allegiance to the empire. Thus, even under the great empires, India never formed one political unitary state.

Economic Life.—The basis of the splendour of the Gupta period was the economic prosperity of the country, the establishment of the administrative unity of a large part of India, and the strong government of the emperors.

Agriculture was the main wealth producing occupation. The



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Colossal Temple Statue from Besnagar.

governments also paid much attention to its promotion. Lakes and tanks were built in different places for irrigation, so that the cultivators could raise two crops in the year, one in summer and the other in autumn, and sometimes add a spring crop also. A large variety of grain, oil seeds, spices and herbs were grown. Many fruits were cultivated. The cultivators' tools were of iron, the ploughs were drawn by oxen. The soil was diligently prepared, and seeds were chosen with care.

The industries also were flourishing. Leather and ivory work was of a high grade. Among metals gold seemed to have been plentiful, and fine coins of gold were struck. Brass and copper articles were produced in good quantity. Colossal images of these metals were cast. Iron was smelted and used for many purposes. The iron pillar at Mehrauli (Delhi) is a marvel of the skill of the times. In spite of many centuries of exposure to weather, it stands rustless. Similar is the pillar of iron at Dhar. Precious stones and pearls were employed in jewellery of which people were fond.

Trade.—The peace and order established by the emperors gave a stimulus to internal trade. At the same time India's trade relations with foreign countries were vigorous. The ancient Indians had highly developed the art of ship-building. Their ships regularly embarked from the ports of Tamralipti (modern Tamluk in Bengal), Kudur and Kayal on the eastern coast, Broach, Sopara and Kalyan on the western coast and Cochin and Calicut, on the Malabar coast.

The merchants carried Indian goods to the eastern regions from Burma to China, and the western countries—Iran, Arabia and East Africa. They were accompanied by learned men who spread Indian culture in these countries.

Among the countries with which India traded was the Roman empire from where much gold and silver was received through the ports in the south.

India exported spices, aromatics, saffron, sandalwood, drugs, silk—raw and manufactured, cotton textiles, mineral products like swords, birds—peacock, and animals.

Arts, Science and Literature.—The Gupta period was indeed the golden age of the Indian culture. The arts of planning towns, of architecture, sculpture and painting attained wonderful development. Temples with high curvilinear steeples (Shikhara) were built, and chapels of worship and halls for residence for monks were dug out of the living rock. Among these the most



Photo: Arch. Dept., Hyderabad.
Verandah: Apsaras. Ajanta, Cave XVII.

interesting are the Vishvakarma Chaitya House at Ellora, and the temples of Mamallapuram built by the Pallavas. The buildings were adorned with works of superb sculpture and painting. The finest examples of painting are found in the Ajanta caves of this period.

Sanskrit became the chief language of the state and of religion, philosophy and literature. The name of Kalidasa, the great poet and dramatist, stands foremost in literature. Among his many works the drama of *Shakuntala*, the lyrical ballad of *Meghaduta*, and the epic of *Raghuvansha* are rightly regarded as masterpieces of literary art. With him Shudraka, the author of *Mrichchhakatika* (the Clay Cart), King Harsha, to whom are attributed the three dramas—*Ratnavali*, *Nagananda* and *Priyadarshika* and *Bhavabhuti*, the writer of *Uttararamacharita* and *Malati Madhava* are deservedly famous. Dandin wrote a prose romance, and Bana the well-known life of Harsha. The *Panchatantra*, which has been translated into many languages of the world, was compiled during this age, and so were numerous other story books. Vakpatiraja wrote in Maharashtri prakrit an epic to celebrate the victory of Yashovarman over a Bengal king.

In science, too, India made a great advance. The names of Aryabhata, Varahamihira, and Brahmagupta in mathematics and astronomy, and Charaka and Shushruta in medical science are worthy of note. The sciences of engineering, law, war, politics, agriculture, animal husbandry and others received great attention, and many treatises were written on them.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIDDLE AGE, A.D. 700–1818

Introduction.—The eighth century A.D. marks a transition. With it closes the ancient period of Indian History, the period during which the Aryan tribes spread over India, established principalities and founded short-lived empires.

Before the eighth century had passed, new factors had arisen which largely changed the ancient conditions and ushered in a new era. The old tribes described in the Vedas and the Puranas disappear. The old ruling families change and their place is taken by a new race consisting of many tribes and clans. They were the Rajputs. Their families spread over Northern India and the Deccan, and set up new kingdoms. Buddhism practically disappeared, Jainism lost ground, and sectarian Hinduism became popular. The place of Sanskrit was gradually taken by the Prakrits, from which arose the modern Indian languages—Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Urdu and others. The new age had new forms of art, especially of temple building. The social conditions became more rigid and the ascendancy of the priests more pronounced.

After the rule of Harsha Vardhana India relapsed into numerous politically independent states. Their rulers were followers of the Hindu religion and their people in spite of differences of language pursued the same culture. Their laws were basically the same and they held the Sanskrit language in high esteem. Their arts, literature, music were similar.

Yet each state was a separate political unit and pursued its own narrow selfish interests. There was no common bond which united the Hindu principalities. Neither religion nor patriotism influenced their actions. Each contended to humiliate the other and to bring it under subordination by force. In their efforts to defeat their Hindu neighbours they were prepared to seek the help of foreigners. They made little distinction between what was their own and what was alien.

Of this anarchy foreigners took advantage. From the eighth century the Arabs and later the Turks who had adopted the religion of Islam began to arrive in India. The Arabs began to settle on the western coast of Southern India soon after the rise

of Islam. There they were welcomed as traders, soldiers and sailors, and they soon acquired a position of influence in the principalities of the western coast of the Deccan and the South. Their settlements became centres of religious influence, and their ideas spread among the peoples. In Northern India, the Muslim Arabs first entered from the west; they appeared as invaders, and although after the conquest of Sindh they could not make any advance into India from that direction, their merchants, missionaries and saints visited the country, travelled freely and settled in the towns.

Before the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni, India had already become familiar with the Muslims and their ways. The Indian princes gave them favourable opportunities for trade, and protected them from molestation; they allowed them to build their mosques, to perform their worship freely and to carry on their religious propaganda.

With the exception of the invasion of Sindh during the first half of the eighth century, the Muslims who came to India lived as peaceful residents of the country. Then, at the end of the tenth century, the Turks began their encroachments. Mahmud, their great leader, made many raids but did not establish a kingdom in India, but his successors ruled over the Punjab. Nearly a century and a half elapsed before the advance was resumed, and by the beginning of the thirteenth century Northern India was swiftly brought under the sway of the Turkish Sultans.

The rule of the Sultans of Delhi was overthrown by the invasions of Babur, who founded the Mughal empire in the beginning of the sixteenth century. His descendants continued to rule over a wide empire till the commencement of the eighteenth century, and then the power of the Mughals rapidly declined and the British established their dominion in India.

The history of these one thousand years may be divided into three periods. In the first period, from 700 to 1200, the Rajputs dominated the Indian stage, and in the second period the Turks conquered India and established the Sultanate of Delhi, which passed from the hands of one dynasty to another till Babur seized the throne of Delhi in 1526. The third period runs from 1526 to 1818, and covers the history of the rise and decline of the Mughal empire.

1. (a) The Early Middle Age, A.D. 700–1200

The history of this period is a record of the gradual establish-

ment of the ascendancy of the Pratiharas over the other Rajput chiefs, and their subsequent decline in northern India. The eastern region of India, however, was never brought under the sway of the Rajputs.

In the Deccan, first the Rashtrakuta and then the Chalukya dynasties exercised power; and in the south, the Cholas established their domination and played an important role in Indian history.

The history of the period falls naturally into two parts. In the first part, i.e., from A.D. 700 to 1000, the Pratiharas in the North and the Rashtrakutas in the Deccan retained ascendancy; in the second part, i.e., from A.D. 1000 to 1200, the Rajput empire declined and the Turkish invaders conquered northern India; in the Deccan, the Chalukyas replaced the Rashtrakutas; but in the South, the Cholas continued to rule vigorously.

1. (b) **The Rise of the Rajput Empire, A.D. 700–1000**

On the death of Harsha, the Vardhana empire which had brought many principalities under one rule, was broken up. In the different parts of India independent kingdoms were established. For a long time they continued to exist without acknowledging a suzerain, and carried on petty and never-ending wars against one another. In the beginning of the ninth century, however, a greater part of Northern India was brought under the sway of the Pratiharas of Kanauj and the Palas of Bengal.

The Deccan remained under the rule of the Chalukyas till the middle of the eighth century. In 753, the Rashtrakutas overthrew the Chalukyas, who later set up their capital at Manyakheta (Malkhed). Their dynasty ruled over a great portion of the Deccan till 974. In the eastern parts of the Deccan, an eastern branch of the Chalukyas continued to rule from Vengi.

In the South, the Pandyas gained a short-lived ascendancy by defeating the Pallavas, but the close of the ninth century saw the rise of the Cholas to supremacy over all their rivals.

Northern India, from the death of Harsha to the decline of the Pratiharas.—The political condition of India before the rise of the Pratiharas of Kanauj may be briefly described as follows:—

Kashmir.—In the north, Kashmir, which once formed part of the Mauryan empire, was an independent and powerful kingdom. The founder of its greatness was Durlabhavardhana of the Karkota dynasty (627–663). His grandson Chandrapida was a pious and just king, who was succeeded by his famous brother

Lalitaditya Muktapida on the throne about 724. Lalitaditya was a great conqueror. The historian Kalhana attributes to him the conquest of the whole of India, but this is not certain.

However his conquest of Kanauj and victory over Yashovarman appears to be a historical fact. He built the famous Martanda temple of Kashmir. He died in 760. Among later kings Jayapida and Avantivarman were noted rulers. But their successors were mostly worthless. The dynasty was overthrown in the middle of the ninth century.

Kabul.—The kingdom of Kabul and Gandhara was governed by the Kshatriya Buddhist rulers whose title was Shahi. This dynasty was supplanted by the Brahmana minister, Lalliya, about 800. Lalliya's successors had to contend against the Muslim rulers of Sistan and Afghanistan. One of them Jaipala fought against the chief of Lahore and annexed the kingdom. His dominion included Western Punjab, North-west Frontier Province and Eastern Afghanistan. His kingdom was menaced by the Muslim ruler of Ghazni—Sabuktigin, who inflicted defeats upon Jaipala. Ultimately Mahmud annexed the territories of the Hindu Shahiyas.

The Punjab.—In the Punjab there were two independent chieftaincies; the capital of the first was at Sialkot and of the other at Jalandhar. The rulers of Sialkot were known as Tak or Takka, and the country of Jalandhar was called Trigarta.

Nepal and Assam.—The border kingdoms of Nepal and Assam do not require much notice. Nepal asserted its independence at the beginning of the eighth century and adopted a new era in 879. Assam was under the suzerainty of the Palas of Bengal during the period.

Bengal.—The death of Harsha plunged Bengal into confusion. Local rajas ruled over the country. But among them the name of Adisura, who appears to have made an effort to revive Brahmanism, alone need be mentioned. About the middle of the eighth century (730–40), the first king of the Pala dynasty, named Gopala (750–770), established his rule over West Bengal and South Bihar. His successors, Dharmapala (770–810) and Devapala (810–50), were powerful kings who extended their suzerainty over Kanauj and further west, over Assam, in the east, and in the south, over Kalinga. They were called Lords of Northern India. During the ninth and tenth centuries the Palas dominated in the east and were rivals of the kings of Kanauj. They kept the Gurjaras from occupying Bihar, but during the latter

part of the tenth century the Pala rule suffered from the attacks of the hillmen, and although Mahipala (978–1030) drove them out of Bengal, the Palas did not recover their old prestige and power. For the Chola king, Rajendra I, invaded Bihar and Eastern Bengal and defeated Mahipala, and the Kalachuris of Chedi pressed on his dominions from the west and seized Varanasi.

The Palas were Buddhists and they exercised their patronage for the extension of their faith. They were enlightened rulers and their times are noted for remarkable artistic and intellectual activities.

The Rajputs.—Northern India, west of Bihar, was under the rule of the Rajput families. The origin of these families is obscure. Some scholars are of opinion that some of them are descendants of foreign tribes, i.e., the Sakas and the Hunas who came into India and settled in its western parts, and some are sprung from indigenous races, such as the Gonds and Bhars. Other scholars dispute this theory, and hold the Rajputs to be the descendants of the ancient Kshatriya families. The evidence for their foreign descent is not convincing, nor is it possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to prove the Rajput claims to descent from the ancient Solar and Lunar dynasties.

Whatever their origin may be, the Rajputs had many things in common. They were linked together by intermarriages and by common customs. The Rajput princes were great supporters of sectarian Hinduism, and they enhanced the respect for the Brahmanas. They encouraged arts and literature, industry and commerce. They were famous for their chivalry, their women preferred death to loss of honour, they showed reckless courage in battle and unquestioning personal devotion to their chiefs. They were swift to take offence, persistent in their feuds and inordinately fond of fighting.

Of these Rajput families, the one which came to the forefront during this period, and attained imperial power in the north, was the family of the Pratiharas.

The word Pratihara means a doorkeeper, and it was the name of an office, the holder of which was an important and confidential official of the Hindu kings. According to tradition, Rohiladhi was the ancestor of the Pratiharas. He married two wives, one a Brahmana and the other a Kshatriya, and the offspring of the Kshatriya wife seized Mandor near Bhilmal, built a fort there and laid the foundations of their future greatness. Among his

successors, Nagabhatta I (725-40) made Merta (in Jodhpur territory) his capital. He extended his dominions from Marwar to Broach, and repulsed the attacks of the Arabs from Sindh. His grandson, Vatsaraja (770-800), who was an ambitious prince, invaded the territory of Kanauj and defeated the Maukhari king, Indrayudha. Gopala of Bengal, who came to help Indrayudha, was also defeated. But the successors of Vatsaraja excited the jealousy of their southern neighbour. The Rashtrakuta king, Dhruva, humbled the pride of Vatsaraja and obliged him to retire to his own country.

Nagabhatta II (800-33), son of Vatsaraja, retrieved the position of his father. He inflicted defeats upon the feudatories and allies of Kanauj, and vanquished Chakrayudha, the last Maukhari king of Kanauj. In 815 he made Kanauj his capital and assumed the title of emperor. He conquered Northern Gujarat, Malwa, the Vindhyan region, Vatsa (country south of the Jamuna), Matsya (the Jaipur territory), and thus his empire extended from the Himalayas to Kathiawar and Allahabad to the Punjab. His successors, Mihir Bhoja (843-81), Mahendrapala (890-907) and Mahipala (910-40), were warlike princes who not only maintained the empire in its wide extent, but led expeditions into the territories of neighbouring princes. They also carried on, with varying fortune, wars against their two great rivals, the Palas of Bengal and the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta.

Mihir Bhoja inflicted a crushing defeat upon the king of Bengal, and Mahendrapala annexed a portion of Magadha to his empire. Mahipala, however, suffered a defeat at the hands of the Rashtrakutas, who boasted of plundering Kanauj. The Pratihara empire, however, remained undivided, and in the middle of the tenth century it stretched from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas, and from Bihar in the east to the Arabian sea.

While the empire was at its height, a number of Arab travellers visited India. The Arabs were on friendly terms with the Rashtrakutas who ruled over the seaboard of the Deccan, and regarded the kings of Kanauj as their enemies, because they were hostile to the Rashtrakutas. They were greatly struck by the power and wealth of the kingdom, and highly praised its internal administration and order.

The successors of Mahipala were weak rulers. They were eclipsed by the growth of the Chandellas in the south. The Paramaras of Malwa, the Solankis of Gujarat and the other feudatories became independent. Rajyapala was on the throne

of Kanauj from 990 to 1018. He was attacked by Mahmud and fled across the Ganga. Raja Ganda Chandella killed him in battle after the return of Mahmud to Kabul. In 1078 Kanauj passed into the hands of Gahadvadas, and the Pratiharas passed out of history.

Sindh.—Sindh was the westernmost principality of India. Its capital was at Alor (near the modern Rohri). At the time of Harsha's death, its ruler belonged to a Buddhist dynasty of the Maurya clan. The prince governed the whole valley of Sindh, and had a number of important feudatories in Baluchistan. On the death of the last ruler of the line, the government was seized by his Brahmana minister, Chach, who established a new dynasty (650). Chach was a bigoted ruler who made harsh and stringent rules for some of his subjects. They were forbidden to carry arms, wear silk garments, or ride on horse-back with saddles, and they were commanded to walk about bare-headed and bare-footed and accompanied by dogs.

Chach was succeeded on the throne by his son, Dahar, who was defeated and overthrown by the Arabs in 712.

The appearance of the Arabs in Sindh was not the result of a sudden or isolated movement, but an effect of the expansion of the Arabs which had begun in early times and was stimulated by the rise of Islam.

The influence of the teachings of Muhammad on the Arabs was wonderful. Before him they were divided into numerous hostile tribes, who were constantly at war. But by the time of his death in 632, the Arabs had been converted to Islam, united under one state and set forward on the road to empire. The first four Caliphs, who succeeded as the vicars of the Prophet, and who are known as the righteous Caliphs, extended the boundaries of Arab rule in all directions. They were succeeded by the Ommayyid Caliphs, who retained power for nearly 100 years (650–750), and it was during their rule that the Arab dominion expanded in the east to the Indus valley.

A number of causes led them towards India. In the first place, the Arabs, who were traders, had settled in the ports of the Indian sea coast, and had set up a lucrative trade with India. But their ships were open to attacks by the pirates who infested the waters of the Gujarat, Sindh and Makran coasts. A number of naval expeditions were sent by the Caliphs to put an end to piracy. Secondly, the Arabs, whom the Prophet Muhammad had united, had renewed their old feuds, and some partisans in

these quarrels took refuge in Sindh, and were a source of perpetual annoyance to the power of the Caliphate. Some of them were taken into service by the Hindu kings of Sindh. Thirdly, the subjects and feudatories of the rulers of Sindh chafed under their harsh administration and many of them had joined the Arabs.

When, therefore, the Arabs had conquered Baluchistan with the help of the discontented Hindu and Buddhist inhabitants and chiefs, they came into direct contact with the rulers of Sindh. They naturally asked Dahar to make compensation for the losses which their ships had suffered from robbers in the Indus delta, and on his refusal, they fitted out an expedition which was sent under the leadership of Muhammad bin Qasim in 711.

Muhammad defeated Dahar, and within three years conquered Sindh and Multan. The defeat of Dahar was due to the treachery of his Hindu sardars, and to the refusal of his Muslim mercenaries to fight.

The Muslim conqueror treated the vanquished with great wisdom and generosity. The old system of revenue administration was retained, and the old officials continued in service. The Hindu priests and monks were allowed to worship in their own temples, and only a light tribute was levied, whose rate was fixed in accordance with the income of the individual. The cultivators were permitted to pay the customary dues to the temples and the priests.

The Arab rule established by Muhammad bin Qasim lasted for nearly 300 years. During this period many changes took place in Sindh. The river Indus shifted its course, the Arab rulers built new towns, and administered the country well. But the dissensions which broke out among the claimants to the Caliphate gradually weakened their hold, and by the end of the eighth century the principalities of Sindh became practically independent. Although the Arabs made some attempts to extend their rule over the eastern territories, they failed for lack of support from the central authority, and because of the resistance of the Rajputs.

In the beginning of the eleventh century Mahmud of Ghazni conquered these Arab principalities of Sindh.

The conquest of Sindh and Multan by the Arabs remained an isolated incident in Indian history. But it marked the beginning of the influence of Islam on the Indian people.

1. (c) The Deccan after the Sixth Century A.D.

In the beginning of the seventh century three prominent rival families were constantly waging war against each other. They were (1) the Chalukyas divided into two branches—western and eastern, (2) the Rashtrakutas and (3) the Pallavas.

The Western Chalukyas.—In the middle of the sixth century the Chalukyas rose into prominence. The dynasty was founded by Pulakesin I, who made Vatapi (Badami in Bijapur district) his capital about 550 A.D. His sons extended their dominions at the expense of the Kalachuris and his grandson, Pulakesin II, who ascended the throne about A.D. 610 subdued the Kadambas of Vanavasi, the Gangas of Mysore, the Mauryas of Konkan, the Sakas, Malavas and Gurjaras of the north-west. He repulsed the invasion of Harsha of Kanauj about A.D. 620. He waged war against the Pallavas, and ravaged Kanchi, their capital. Thus Pulakesin's empire extended from Gujarat to Mysore. In A.D.



642, however, the Pallava king, Narasimhavarman, avenged the humiliation by defeating Pulakesin, plundering Vatapi and putting the king to death. During this reign Maharashtra was visited by Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim.

The successors of Pulakesin II had to contend against great difficulties. But his son Vikramaditya won several victories over the Pallavas and twice captured Kanchi. He, thus, restored the power of his house.

Vinayaditya (681–696) succeeded his father and maintained the integrity of the Empire. But unfortunately he led an expedition in the north which proved disastrous.

His son Vijayaditya (696–733) had to fight against the rival power of the Pallavas who paid tribute to him. Vikramaditya II ascended the throne in 733. He too was involved in hostilities with the Pallavas. He not only captured Kanchi, but also raided Southern Indian principalities. Disaster befell the Chalukyas in the reign of Vikramaditya II (744–757), for Dantidrug Rashtrakuta rose in rebellion and extinguished the independence of the Chalukyas whose dominion passed under the sway of the Rashtrakutas.

The Eastern Chalukyas.—Pulakesin II, the Chalukya king of Badami appointed his brother Vishnuvardhana as viceroy of the newly conquered territories of the Vishnukundi king in eastern Andhra. The viceroy subsequently declared his independence and founded the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. Their territory extended from Vishakhapatnam to Nellore with their capital at Vengi. His rule lasted for 18 years about 615 to 633. His successors had peaceful reigns till the middle of the eighth century, when the Rashtrakutas destroyed the Western Chalukyan line and began to encroach upon the territories of the Eastern Chalukyas. In 769–70 the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I defeated the king of Vengi and made him a tributary. But the Chalukyas continued to recover their independence and resist the Rashtrakutas and sometimes they led successful raids into the enemy's territory, but on other occasions the Rashtrakutas harassed them.

Of these kings, Vijayaditya II, who ruled for 48 years (799–847), was a powerful monarch. He waged many wars, and in one of them he invaded Gujarat which was under the Rashtrakutas, and plundered the province. But the triumph was shortlived as the Chalukya army was driven out by Amoghavarsha I.

Another king was Vijayaditya III (842–892). He attacked the Pallavas of Kanchi and seized some territory. Then he marched

against the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II and his ally the Kalachuri ruler and defeated them at the battle of Kiranpura (Balaghat district, Madhya Pradesh). He led expeditions against Berar, Bastar, Chhattisgarh and Kalinga.

After his death the hostilities continued between the two Deccan principalities—Eastern Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas, with vary ng fortune.

In 929 there was a war of succession between the claimants to the throne, and a period of short reigns followed and confusion prevailed in the land. At last, Rajaraja Chola conquered the Vengi country and put an end to the Eastern Chalukya kingdom in 999.

Rashtrakutas.—While the Chalukyas were in power in the Deccan, Rashtrakuta chiefs were exercising authority in (1) Satna-Ratnagiri region and (2) the Betul Ellichpur districts of Madhya Pradesh, and (3) Northern parts of the Deccan. It is not known whether they were branches of the same family or separate chiefs.

The chiefs of the first region in Northern Maharashtra were replaced by the Chalukyas who annexed their lands. The possessions of the second family passed into the hands of the third division of the Rashtrakutas.

The third house of the Rashtrakutas were feudatories of the Chalukyas. The founder of the greatness of Rashtrakuta power was Dantidurga (733–754), who was at first a feudatory of the Chalukyas. He won victories over the Pallavas of Kanchi, Gurjaras of Lata and Malwa and other chieftains of the Eastern Deccan. He also fought against the Arabs near Navasari in 738 and defeated them with the aid of the Chalukyas. Then he rebelled against his sovereign the Western Chalukya King. In 752 he defeated Kirtivarma Chalukya in Khandesh and became the master of Maharashtra. His successor Krishna I (754–773) destroyed the Western Chalukya empire and then attacked the territories of the Chalukyas of Vengi and annexed the region of modern Hyderabad state.

Under King Dhruva (780–793) the Rashtrakuta dominion extended to the Kaveri river. He led a campaign against the Pallavas who conciliated him by offering an indemnity.

Dhruva also planned an expedition against Kanauj. His forces after crossing the Narmada encountered the army of the protector of Kanauj, Vatsaraj Pratihara at Jhansi and inflicted a defeat upon them. He then attacked Dharmapala, king of

Bengal, and forced him to flee. Then he returned to the south laden with rich booty.

The supremacy of the Rashtrakutas over the whole of the Deccan and a part of the Northern India was established by the victories of Dhruva.

His son Govind III ascended the throne in 793. He fought against the Pallavas and led a second expedition in the north. He marched by way of Bhopal and Jhansi and came against the forces of Nagbhata Pratihara in Bundelkhand. Nagbhata fled and Kanauj surrendered. But Govind did not enter Kanauj. He received the submission of Dharmapala of Bengal also and he seems to have marched to the foot of the Himalayas. Then he returned to the banks of the Narmada.

While Govind was campaigning in the north, the Pallavas formed an alliance with other rulers and challenged his supremacy. Govind defeated his foes and broke up their alliance.

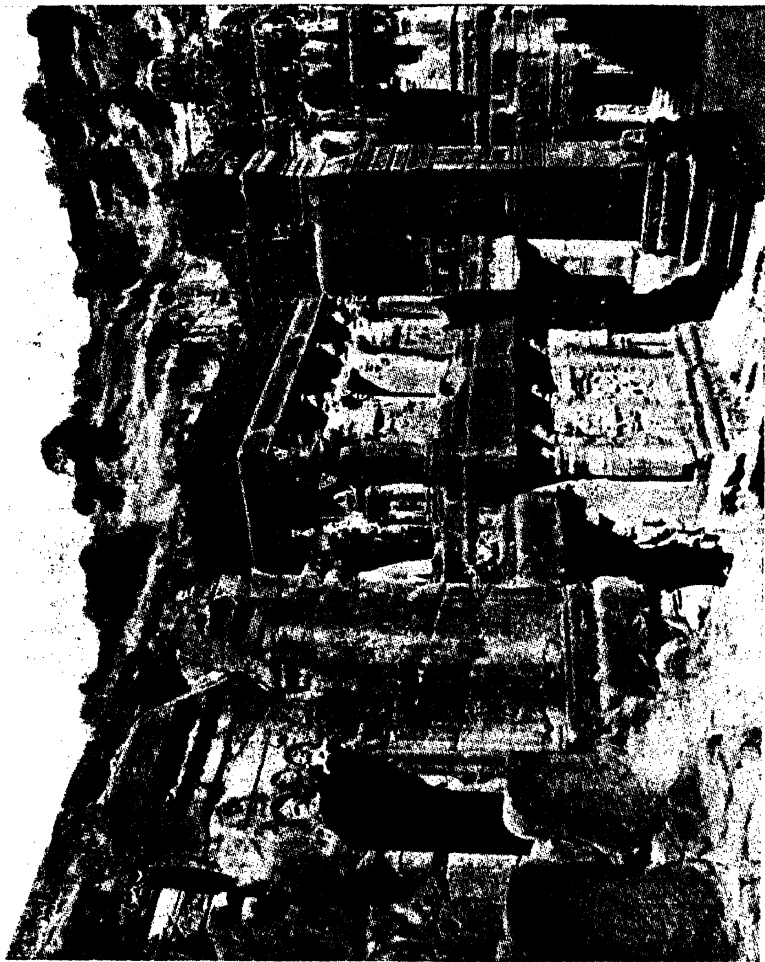
Govind III was succeeded by Amoghavarsha in 814 A.D. He built his capital at Manyakheta (modern Malkheda in Hyderabad state). His reign was full of hostilities against the Gangas, the Pallavas, and the rulers of Vengi, Malwa, Bihar and Bengal. He was also involved in the rebellions of his own family members, and threatened by the Pratiharas. He triumphed over his difficulties and died about 878. He was an able ruler who established peace and order and encouraged art and letters.

His successor Krishna II (878-914) had to face the enemies in the north, the Pratiharas, and in the east the Chalukyas of Vengi.

Krishna's son Indra III (914-922) won great glory by defeating the Pratihara King Mahipala and occupying Kanauj. After the reigns of some short-lived rulers, Krishna III came to the throne in 939.

Krishna's greatest exploit was the war he waged against the Chola kingdom. With the help of his brother-in-law, the chief of Gangavadi, he twice invaded the south. In the first expedition, he captured Kanchi and Tanjore and occupied the districts of Arcot, Chingleput and Vellore, known together as Tondamandalam. In the second war, he defeated the Cholas at Takolam and marched down to Rameshwarem on the sea coast.

He also led his army to the north into Bundelkhand and Malwa, and occupied Ujjain. He brought the Chalukyas of Vengi under control. By his wars he became the ruler of the entire Deccan



General view of Kailash Temple, Ellora.

and of a part of the southern kingdom of the Cholas. He died in 967 A.D.

His successors were weak. The Paramara king of Malwa, Siyaka, invaded Rashtrakuta dominions and captured the capital Malkhed in 972. Maladministration gave an opportunity to the neighbouring feudatories to intervene. Taila II of the Chalukya family revolted. He defeated the Rashtrakuta forces and established his rule over the Deccan by 975 A.D.

The Rashtrakutas were patrons of the arts. Krishna I built the Kailash temple at Ellora. Amoghavarsha built the city of Malkhed. He was the benefactor of a number of famous Hindu and Jaina writers, and he himself wrote on poetics. Krishna III erected two temples at Rameshvaram.

The Arabs who settled during these times on the western coast of India regarded the Rashtrakutas as great and powerful rulers who conferred favours upon them. They called them Balharas (Vallabharais).

The Pallavas.—The Pallavas were the feudatories of the Satavahanas. They extended their authority over Tondamandalam, from Amravati on the Krishna river to Kanchi on the south Penner, and the Bellary district. When the Satavahana kingdom broke up in the middle of the third century A.D., they became independent and founded the new dynasty of the Pallavas with their capital at Kanchi. In the middle of the fourth century Vishnugopa was the king of Kanchi when Samudragupta invaded the Deccan.

With the accession of Sinhavishnu to the throne of Kanchi in A.D. 590, the Pallavas began a career of conquest and glory. Sinhavishnu defeated the Cholas and Pandyas and possibly the king of Ceylon. His successor, Mahendravarman I (600–636), had to give up a part of the Pallava territories to the Chalukya king Pulakesin II, but he was a notable ruler, a great builder and a patron of letters. He was converted from Jainism to Shaivism by Saint Appar. His son, Narasimhavarman (A.D. 630–68), was a great ruler too. He inflicted defeats upon the Tamil kings, and the Chalukya kingdom in the Western Deccan. He captured its capital Vatapi (Badami) and killed Pulakesin II. He also led an expedition to Ceylon, which started from his naval station of Mamallapuram. During his rule the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang visited Kanchi.

Under the successors of Narasimhavarman, the struggle with the Chalukyas was continued. After Narasimhavarman his

grandson Parameswaravarman I, sat on the throne from 670 to 690 A.D. During his reign the Chalukyas invaded the Pallava Kingdom and captured Kanchi, but then retired.

The most important ruler of the dynasty was Nandivarman II (730–800). He too had to defend his kingdom from Chalukya invaders. But another foe had now appeared, namely, the Pandyas of the South, who formed a hostile combination, but Nandivarman defeated their designs.

His son Dantivarman had to face an invasion by the Rashtrakuta Govind III, and an invasion by the Pandyas. Dantivarman's son Nandivarman III inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pandya aggressor, and his grandson Nripatungavarman also won a victory over the Pandyas.

The last king of the Pallavas was Aparajita, who too humiliated the Pandyas, but he was in his turn defeated by Aditya I, the Chola king. As a result the kingdom fell into the hands of the Cholas and the Pallava line came to an end about 893 A.D.

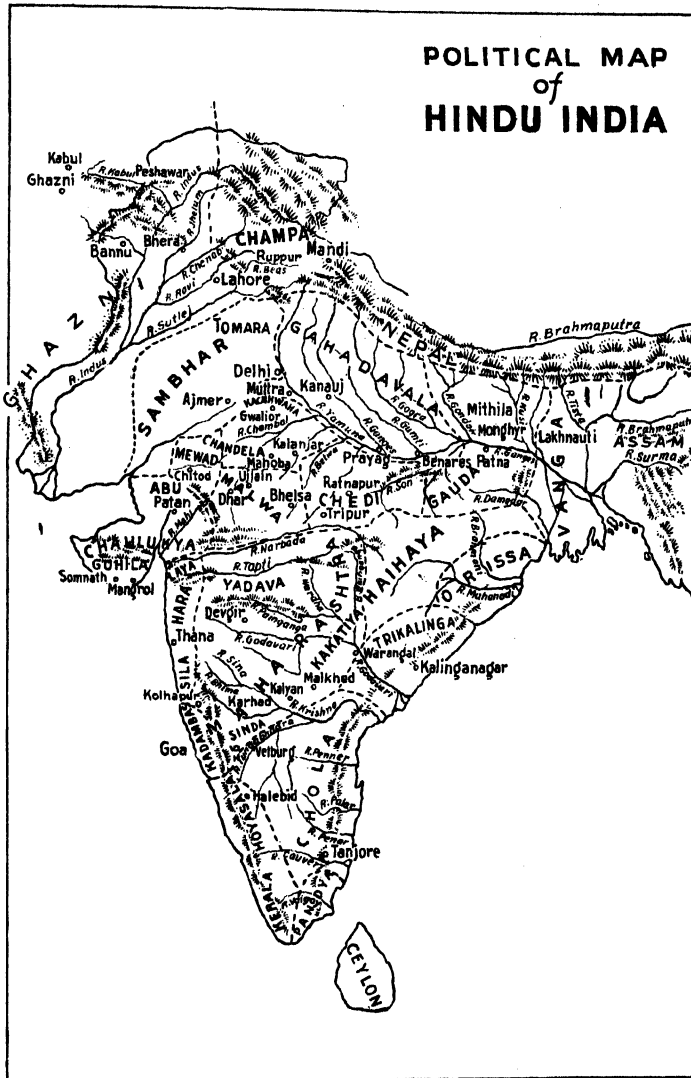
The Pallavas were capable administrators, great patrons of the arts and learning. They built many temples, e.g., the one at Mahabalipuram and gave great impetus to Sanskrit learning. They revived Shaivism in the South.

1. (d) The Deccan and the South till the 13th Century

The Later Chalukyas.—By 974, the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan had been replaced by their feudatory, the Chalukya Taila II (Tailap). He began his reign with plans to extend his dominions. His first success was against the Ganga king of Dharwar region. Next he turned towards the west and occupied southern Konkan. The Yadava ruler of Daulatabad (Hyderabad) accepted his suzerainty. His attempt to annex Lata (between the rivers Sabarmati and Ambika), a Rashtrakuta province, was not successful, and his expeditions to gain Malwa were defeated by the Paramara Munja who then ruled the province. But when Munja invaded Chalukya territory he was defeated, taken prisoner and executed.

Thus Taila's kingdom of Karnata extended from the river Godavari in the north to the border of Mysore in the south and southern Konkan in the west. Malkhed was his first capital, but then it was shifted to Kalyani.

On Taila's death in 997, his son Satyashraya came to the throne. His rule lasted eleven years. He brought northern



Konkan upto the sea under his rule. But he had soon to face a formidable enemy, namely, Rajaraja, the Chola king. In the beginning the Chola armies ravaged Chalukya lands, but ultimately Satyashraya not only succeeded in driving them back, but raided the territories of his southern neighbours.

Satyashraya was succeeded by his nephew, Vikramaditya V (1008–1014). Then Jayasimha II, his youngest brother, became

king. The Chalukyas were surrounded by enemies—the Solankis of Gujarat, the Paramaras of Malwa, the Kalachuris in the east and the Cholas in the south. But their combined efforts to crush the Chalukyas were foiled by Jayasimha. The risings of the Chalukya feudatories also met with no success.

Jayasimha died in 1043–44, leaving his throne to his son Someshwara I (1043–1068). During his reign the Chola Rajadhiraj thrice invaded the Deccan. He succeeded in capturing Kalyan, the capital and plundering it. But in the third invasion he was killed in the battle of Koppan. His brother Rajendra rallied the forces and forced Someshwara to retreat. The Chalukyas continued the war with the Cholas for many years. They suffered some defeats, the worst at Kushal Sangamam, but they did not lose any part of their territory.

Apart from the Chola wars Someshwara had to fight in Konkan, Lat, Gujarat and Malwa and in south India. Thus his reign was filled with wars and excursions.

On his death in 1068, there was a quarrel between his two sons—Someshwara II and Vikramaditya VI. The latter defeated the former in 1076 and occupied the throne (1076–1126). During his long reign he had to undertake campaigns to subdue the risings of his feudatories like the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra (modern Halebid), the Kadambas of Goa, the Silharas of Satara district, the Yadavas of Daulatabad, the Gurjaras of Gujarat, and others. He also fought against the Cholas and Chalukyas of Vengi.

After the death of Vikramaditya VI no king appeared who had any great success to his credit. The reigns were disturbed by the rebellions of their dependent chiefs and occasional wars with their neighbours.

During the reign of Taila III (1151–54), the Kakatiyas of Warangal defeated the Chalukya king and took him prisoner. Then Bijjala of the family of Kalachuris who were feudatories of the Chalukyas declared his independence in 1156 and advancing on Kalyan seized the throne. He became the ruler of the Deccan. His successors ruled over the Chalukya territories till 1181. Then the Chalukyas regained the Kingdom for a short time. In 1184 their rule ended.

When Bijjala was ruling the Deccan, Basava, a religious reformer, started the Virshaiva or Lingayata sect.

The other principalities.—(1) The Yadavas were chiefs of Khandesh, Nasik and Ahmadnagar district under the Chalukyas.

In 1185 Bhillima, the Yadava chief, rose against the Chalukya sovereign and declared his independence. He seized Kalyan and extended his power over neighbouring lands in the Hyderabad state, Bijapur, Dharwar and adjoining districts. He led expeditions against the Cholas, fought several wars against the Hoysalas, and raided Malwa, Gurjardesh and Nagpur district. Bhillima founded the city of Devagiri and made it his capital.

His successor, Jautugi (1193-1200), waged war against the Hoysalas and Kakatiyas, as also the Kalingas and the Rajput rulers, north of the Narmada river.

Singhana, the third ruler of the dynasty (1200-1247), was an ambitious king who desired to extend his kingdom. His successes against the Hoysalas gave him control of part of Mysore and the country upto the Tunga river. He marched into the south upto the Kaveri but was obliged to fall back. His expeditions in Konkan were successful as Goa, Belgaum and Kolhapur chiefs submitted to him. In the eastern region, he conquered the Chanda district in Madhya Pradesh. The Yadavas considered the Paramaras of Malwa and the Chalukyas of Gujarat as their enemies and Singhana made several attempts to bring them under control. He defeated them in battle, but eventually failed to crush their independence.

Singhana ruled over a large empire which extended from Khandesh to Mysore and from the south Konkan coast to Hyderabad and Berar. Many neighbouring chiefs regarded him as their overlord.

In 1247, his grandson Krishna ascended the throne. He incurred the hostility of the princes who had opposed his grandfather, but he was successful in maintaining the integrity of his kingdom. He died in 1261.

His brother Mahadeva too campaigned against the Hoysalas, Paramaras and Vaghelas (who had succeeded the Chalukyas in Gujarat). His main achievement was the annexation of northern Konkan.

On his death in 1271, the throne was seized by Ramchandra, son of Krishna, who killed his cousin, the son of Mahadeva. He sent an army against the Hoysalas which failed to achieve anything. But he gained some success in the campaign in Madhya Pradesh.

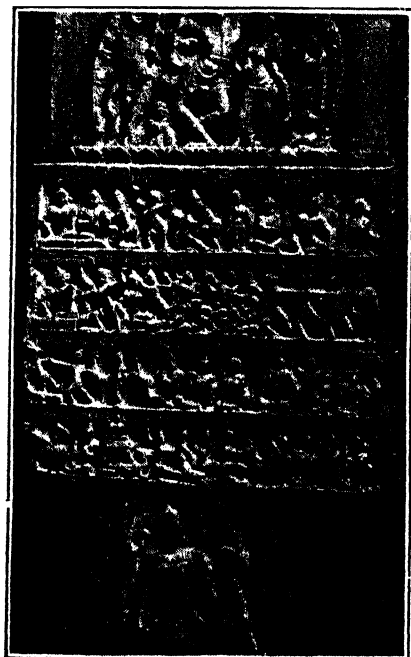
A terrible calamity befell the Yadavas during this reign. Alauddin Khalji invaded Devagiri in 1294. He defeated the Yadava armies, plundered the capital and forced them to pay

tribute. Ramchandra thus became a vassal of the Sultan of Delhi. By 1318 the Kingdom was finally annexed to the Delhi empire.

(2) The Hoysalas of Halebid (Mysore) belonged to the hilly region between the Chola empire in the east and the Later Chalukya dominions in the west. In the wars between the two the Hoysalas found the opportunity to acquire influence. They acknowledged the Chalukyas as their lords and rendered them service.

The fortunes of the family were made by Vishnuvardhan (also known as Bittiga) who became the chief in 1106. He carried on expeditions in different directions and formed the Hoysala kingdom which included the whole of Mysore under his rule. He made Dvarasamudra his capital.

In order to maintain their kingdom the Hoysalas had to fight against their neighbours who greedily cast glances at their territories. Among them were the powerful Chalukyas of Kalyan and their feudatories—the Yadavas of Devagiri. They also



Copyright: Archaeological Survey of India.
Pattadakal. Virupaksha sculpture showing battle scene.

intervened in the quarrels between the Cholas whom they supported against their aggressive vassals—the Pandyas. Thus the Hoysalas were engaged in wars in the south against the Pandyas and in the north against the Yadavas. The Kingdom was, however, subjected to the attacks of the Khaljis in 1310, and the Hoysala dynasty ceased to exist soon after.

(3) In the eastern Deccan the Chalukyas of Vengi had held imperial sway for a long time. But when their empire declined a number of their feudatories assumed independence. The Kakatiyas of Warangal were prominent among them. They carried on hostile activities against their masters and inflicted a defeat upon Tailap III (1151–1162). Their chief, Rudradeva the victor, established his independent kingdom in 1158. His grandson Ganapati had a long reign from 1198 to about 1261. He was engaged in many wars with the Yadavas, Hoysalas and others. The Pandyas defeated Ganapati and seized a part of his dominion including Kanchi. He then transferred the capital to Warangal.

His rule lasted till about 1261, and then his daughter Rudramba became the queen of the Hoysalas. She was faced with an attack from the Yadavas, the enemies of the Kakatiyas. The leader of the attacking army was king Mahadeva who defeated the Kakatiya forces, but spared the life of the queen. However the humiliation weakened the power of the Kakatiyas. Their chiefs rebelled and a number of districts were lost. Her grandson Prataprudra was on the throne when Malik Kafur, the general of Alauddin Khalji, invaded Warangal and receiving all the treasure of the king returned to the north. But in 1322 Ulugh Khan, son of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, led another invasion, defeated the Kakatiyas, took Pratapditya prisoner and annexed the kingdom.

The South.—The southern end of the Indian peninsula surrounded on the three sides by the seas and on the north by Andhradesh, Mysore and Konkan was inhabited from very early times by people speaking Tamilian languages.

Three principalities divided the country between them. The Cholas in the east occupied the Kaveri delta and adjoining region. The Pandyas possessed the country to the south of Vallaru river from the eastern to the western coasts; and the Cheras lived along the western coast upto Konkan in the north. The Tamils have a tradition that Rishi Agastya brought to them the Aryan culture and religion. The inscriptions of Ashoka mention the three

kingdoms which were independent. The inhabitants of these lands were a seafaring people, and they traded with all the countries from China in the east to the Roman Empire in the west.

Unfortunately the three kingdoms were rivals of one another, and each strove to become supreme over the other two. But little definite is known about their early history.

The Cholas.—In the eighth century the Pallava power declined as a result of the encroachment of the Rashtrakutas. Then the Pandyas sought to seize power, but their success was short-lived. In the end the Cholas took advantage of the situation, and subdued both the Pallavas and Pandyas. Thus they established an empire in the South.

The founder of the Chola ascendancy was Vijayalaya (850-871 A.D.). He was a chief ruling over the country round Uraiyur under the overlordship of the Pallavas. He captured Tanjore from its chief, and acquired lands along the Kaveri river. His son, Aditya I (871-907), rose against the Pallava King, vanquished him and took possession of the Pallava country of Tondamandalam. Then he conquered the Pandya territories (Kongudesh). Thus Aditya extended the Chola dominion by his martial powers.

Aditya's son, Parantaka I (907-953), was a great warrior under whom the Chola empire acquired expansion. His first achievement was the conquest of Madura from the Pandyas who were helped by the Ceylon ruler. He then led expeditions in the lands over which Pallava feudatories, Banas and Vaidumbas, ruled. He won a victory at Vallala (north Arcot) and the country upto Nellore was annexed.

In 949 A.D. the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III invaded Tondamandalam and inflicted a defeat on Parantaka at Takkolam. His crown prince lost his life in the battle. Tondamandalam was lost and the Pandyas became independent. A period of confusion followed, from which Rajaraja I (985-1012) rescued the country and revived the fortunes of the Cholas. Rajaraja was a warlike prince and his achievements were remarkable. He destroyed the naval power of the Cheras. He recovered Madura and took possession of Coorg forts. Then he turned his attention to Ceylon and annexed northern Ceylon, making Polonnaruva his capital. The northern feudal chiefs, who had reasserted their authority after the defeat of Takkolam, were forced into obedience. His army invaded the kingdom of the Western Chalukyas and ravaged it. The Chalukyas, however,



Photo: Klein and Peyerl.

Vallala Gopuram, Srirangam Temple.

recovered their position. He defeated the efforts of the Western Chalukyas to combine with the Eastern Chalukyas, so that later they joined the Chola empire. The Kalingas who were the neighbours of the Eastern Chalukyas were attacked and included in the Empire. One of his remarkable expeditions was

to the Maldivé islands in the Arabian sea. They were brought under subjection.

His vast empire extended from Bengal in the north to Ceylon and included Mysore. Rajaraja was not only a great conqueror, but also an able administrator. He was a builder of many temples and he was tolerant of the many sects which prevailed in his empire.

His son, Rajendra I (1012–1044), had helped his father in the government. When he ascended the throne he continued the warlike activities begun by his father. His fields of operation in the western Deccan were the Raichur doab, Banavasi and Malkhed in northern Deccan, Orissa and parts of Bengal, and in the south the region round Madura, Ceylon and the islands in the Arabian sea.

But the crowning achievement of his reign was the overseas expedition to Malaya peninsula and the island of Sumatra where the emperors of the Indian family of Sailendras held sway. Thus the fame and glory of the Cholas was greatly enhanced.

Rajendra was interested in the propagation of knowledge, for which purpose he established a college to teach the Vedas, the Sutras, Vedanta and grammar.

A number of short reigns followed from 1018 to 1070 during which the Emperors were mainly engaged in fighting against the Western Chalukyas or subduing the rebellions of their feudatories. Then followed the long reign of Kulottunga I (1070–1120).

The empire lost control of Ceylon in the early years of his reign, and had to wage wars against the Western Chalukyas and the Kalingas.

Then it was exposed to the attacks of the Hoyasalas of Mysore—princes who had acquired independence after the decline of the Chalukyas. The Hoysalas conquered the Chola provinces between the Godavari and north Penner river, which had been conquered from the Eastern Chalukyas at one time. Later, however, Kulottunga succeeded in recovering Vengavadi upto the Tungabhadra river.

Gangaikondacholapuram was now made the capital in place of Tanjore. Kanchi remained an important city in the empire.

On the death of Kulottunga I in 1120, his successors were able to keep the empire together for another half a century. But during the period the political conditions of the Deccan and the South were undergoing a change.

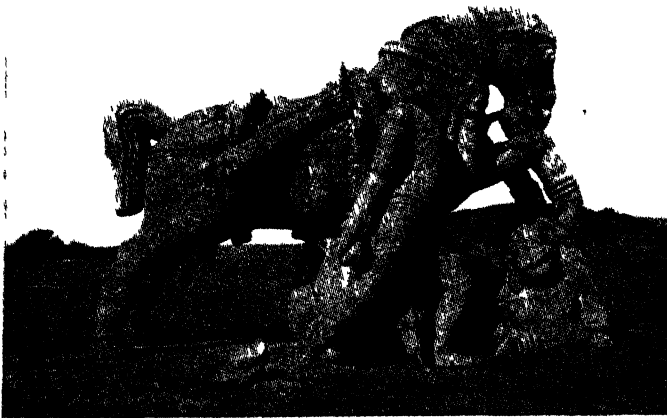
The later Chola rulers lacked the vigour, ability and enterprise of their great predecessors. They found it more and more difficult to keep their feudatories under control.

On the other hand, throughout the Deccan, the local chiefs, who chafed at their subordination to the Cholas, were building up their power and challenging the authority of their overlords. Their attacks which came from the north-western, central and eastern Deccan and from the Pandyas in the south enfeebled the Cholas.

In the Deccan, in the western region the Yadava chieftains of Deogiri (Daulatabad), in the centre the Hoysalas of Halebid (Mysore) and in the east the Chalukyas were a constant source of trouble. The chiefs who were once under Chalukya domination, but had passed under the subordination of the Cholas, also raised their head, e.g., the Kakatiyas of Warangal.

But the Pandyas presented the greatest menace. Their lands were contiguous with the Chola territories and they had accepted the sovereignty of the empire under Parantaka I.

But the Pandyas were always striving to regain their freedom. In the latter half of the twelfth century when the Chola power was showing signs of weakening, they recovered their power. Jatavarman Kulashekhara (1190–1216) assumed the title of king, and his brother Mara Varman Sundara Pandya (1216–1236),



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Colossal Horse, Konarak.

established the second Pandya empire. He harassed the Cholas and made them tributaries during the reign of Kulottunga III (1178–1216).

Thus the Chola empire lost its independence and the later Cholas of the thirteenth century remained as tribute-paying feudatories of the Pandyas.

The decline of the Cholas was a sad end of a once mighty empire. The Chola dynasty was one of the longest lived monarchies of India. It produced great conquerors whose exploits are unique in Indian history. Their system of administration at the centre, in the provinces and in the villages was well organised and efficiently maintained. In the self-governing villages the system gave opportunity to the people to manage their own affairs, which they did successfully for centuries.

The Chola empire had trade relations both with the countries of Western Asia and with China in the far east. Their economic resources enabled them to maintain large armies and navies.

Sanskrit learning flourished in the colleges and Tamil literature was immensely enriched in their times.

The Cholas followed, on the whole, an enlightened and tolerant policy towards the various religious sects. It was during this period that Vaishnava and Shaiva saints compiled in Tamil their religious works.

The achievements of the Cholas form a shining chapter in the history of India.

1. (e) The Downfall of the Rajputs and the Conquest of India by the Turks, A.D. 1000–1200.

The general decline which marked the end of the tenth century in India led to a state of anarchy in which petty independent chiefs fought against one another. The absence of a strong state made it easy for foreigners to invade India and ultimately to conquer it. India, given over to internecine wars and the never-ending and aimless feuds of its princes, was utterly heedless of the fact that on the north-western frontier a new power was arising, which was prepared to utilise fully this opportunity to harry and plunder the country from Kabul to Somnath and from Multan to Kalinjar.

The invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni.—Ghazni is one of the great strongholds of Afghanistan. It was conquered by Alptigin, an officer of the Turkish ruler of Bukhara, in 962. Sabuktigin, who was his son-in-law, became ruler of Ghazni in

977. He first extended his dominion by conquering the southern territories of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and then turned his attention eastwards. The ruler of Kabul then was Jayapala of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty. His kingdom included Eastern Afghanistan and the Punjab to the Beas river. Kabul, Waihind (Ohind) and Lahore were the important cities of this kingdom. The encroachments of Sabuktigin forced Jayapala into hostilities, but he was defeated and obliged to surrender the western parts of his territory.

On the death of Sabuktigin in 997, his son, Mahmud, ascended the throne of Ghazni. He was a brilliant general and a capable ruler. He possessed indomitable energy and restless ambition. He was generous, just and upright. In fact, he was one of the mightiest kings Asia has known.

Mahmud was a Turk and his forces were mainly recruited from the tribes living in Central Asia. They fought on horseback with bows and arrows, and were matchless for their horsemanship. Under a capable leader they were almost irresistible. These Turks were the descendants of the old Sakas and Hunas, whose movements five hundred years before had shaken the continents of Asia and Europe. In the eleventh century the same people—now converted to Islam—resumed their ancient career, which within three centuries made them masters of a vast territory including the greater part of Asia, Egypt and Eastern Europe.

Among the Turks there were many who had not adopted Islam and were Hindu or Buddhist by religion. There were, thus, a number of Hindu military officers and soldiers in the armies of Mahmud and his successors, who fought in India, Iran and Central Asia.

The one great passion of Mahmud's life was conquest and empire, and he devoted his whole career to pursuing them. It was his ambition to revive the ancient glory of the empires of Iran. His conquests extended over the Muslim kingdoms of Central Asia and Iran and he was planning to conquer the territories of the Caliphate of Baghdad when he died in 1030. His ambition for territorial expansion and collection of treasure led him to invade India again and again. His expeditions cannot be regarded as inspired with religious zeal and they cannot be justified as in accord with Islamic religious laws. He was able to realise his personal ambition to a great extent.

He led many invasions into India with the object of gaining

military glory and plunder. He looted and burnt many temples because they were the repositories of wealth, but he made few conversions by force. On the other hand, he employed many Hindu officers and soldiers in his army who fought for him in his wars in Persia and Central Asia. His religious persecutions were directed mainly against the Muslim heretics who threatened to disturb the authority and peace of his empire.

Of his Indian invasions the most important are given below:

(1) In 1003, Mahmud led an expedition against Anandapala, son of Jayapala. He attacked the combined forces of the Rajas of the Punjab and defeated them after a stubborn fight; he then raided Nagarkot (Kangra). After this the Punjab was subdued and annexed.

(2) Mathura was sacked in 1018, and in the same year Kanauj was attacked. Rajyapala, the cowardly ruler of Kanauj, fled and the Sultan captured the city, but restored Rajyapala.

(3) In 1019, Mahmud started for India to punish Ganda, the Chandella, who had overthrown Rajyapala and placed his son on the throne. Ganda gave battle to the invader, but fled panic-stricken. In 1022, however, Mahmud marched to Kalinjar, laid siege to the fort, and compelled Ganda to submit.

(4) The last important expedition of Mahmud in India was directed against Somnath on the sea coast in Kathiawar. He started from Ghazni in 1025, passed Multan and traversing the Rajputana desert reached Anhilwara. The Solanki Raja of Gujarat fled, and the Sultan marched to Somnath. He plundered the temple and returned, by way of Sindh and Multan, to Ghazni.

In these expeditions he obtained an enormous amount of wealth, which he used in adorning Ghazni, in encouraging literature and in maintaining an efficient army.

The permanent result of the invasions was that the territories of the Hindu Shahiya rulers of Afghanistan and the Punjab passed into the dominion of the Ghaznavides where Mahmud's successors continued to rule for one hundred and fifty years. They were overthrown by the Ghoris in 1186 A.D.

India after Mahmud.—After the death of Mahmud, India had a respite from foreign attacks for a century and a half. But the princes of India, who had learnt nothing from their recent experience, plunged again into their usual game of mutual warfare and destruction. While the Punjab had passed into the hands of the Turks, the fall of the Pratiharas had brought new

dynasties into prominence. The most important of these in the north were the kingdoms of Delhi and Ajmer, Kanauj, Bundelkhand, Gujarat, Malwa and Bengal.

1. (f) Northern India

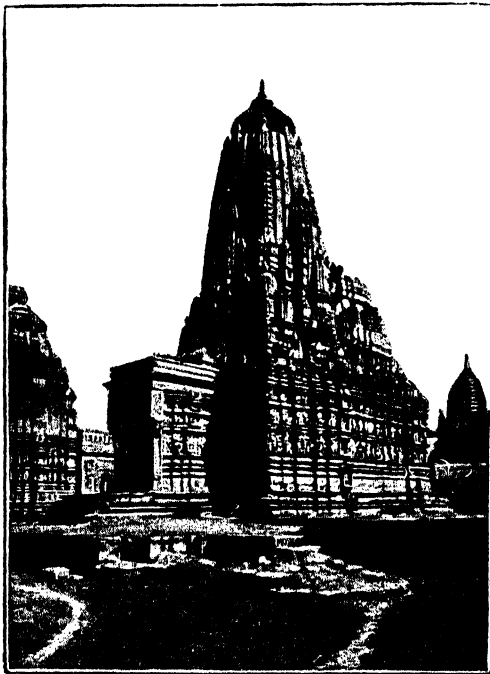
The Chauhans of Delhi and Ajmer.—The Chauhans had established the kingdom of Sambhar in the seventh century. They were a vigorous set of rulers. In the eleventh century, Ajayadeva Chauhan built Ajmer and removed the capital there. His grandson, Vigraharaj (Visaldeva), conquered Delhi from the Tomaras, and repulsed the attacks of the Turks from the Punjab. He was a patron of scholars and himself a poet. Prithviraja, his nephew, ascended the throne about 1177 and ruled till 1192.

The territory over which the Chauhans ruled was a feudatory state of the Pratihara empire in the eighth and ninth centuries. In the tenth century they began to assert their independence. Simharaja was the first Chauhan chief who assumed the title of *Maharajadhiraja*. His son, Vigraharaja II, led an expedition into Gujarat against the Chalukya king, Mulraja. The kings who came after him were ambitious and they sought to annex the territories ruled by their neighbours. They overran Malwa and Ujjain, so that in the middle of the twelfth century the empire included Delhi, Hansi, Saharanpur and Shivaliks in the north. The last king of the line of the Chauhans of Sambhar (capital Ajmer) was the famous Prithviraja III. He ascended the throne in 1177 and found himself surrounded by enemies. His own cousin rose against him. The Chandellas of Bundelkhand, the Gahavadas of Kanauj, the Chalukyas of Gujarat were among his important enemies. In these conditions he had to face the onslaughts of Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghori. Although Prithviraja defeated the Ghoris at the first Battle of Tarain, he was defeated and killed next year (1192) on the same battle-field. The kingdom of Delhi passed into the hands of the Turks. Prithviraja, or Rai Pithaura, has many fanciful and romantic stories woven round his name, specially, in the *Prithviraja Rasau* of the bard Chand Bardai. These stories have no historical value.

The Gahadavadas of Kanauj.—Chandradeva Gahadavada seized Kanauj from the Pratiharas about the end of the eleventh century (1091). He brought under his sway the districts of the Gangetic Doab. His grandson, Govind Chandra, was a powerful ruler who inflicted defeats on the kings of Bengal and

Chedi. He ruled from 1110 to 1155. His son, Vijayachanda, maintained the greatness of his kingdom and won a victory over the Ghaznavide prince of Lahore. Jayachanda succeeded him in 1169. He was the last powerful Hindu king of Kanauj. Muhammad Ghori defeated him in the battle of Chandawar (Etawah district) in 1194 and plundered Varanasi. But Jayachanda's successors continued to rule over Kanauj till its final annexation by Iltutmish. The Gahadavadas levied a poll-tax on the Muslims which was known as *Turushka danda*.

The Chandellas of Bundelkhand.—Nannuk Chandella was the founder of the house which freed Bundelkhand from the Pratihara yoke. The Chandellas made Mahoba their capital at the beginning of the tenth century. King Yasovarman Chandella conquered Kalinjar from the Kalachuris of Chedi, and not only assumed independence but humbled the Pratihara ruler of Kanauj. He invaded the territories of the Paramaras of Malwa and led expeditions into Gauda (East Bengal) and



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Temple of Parasanath, Khajuraho.

Mithila (Bihar). He built the temples at Khajuraho. His successor, Dhanga (950–1000), was the most prominent king of the line. He carried on wars with the Pratiharas, the Palas of Bengal, Somavanshis of southern Kuntala and the Eastern Chalukyas. He ruled over a territory which extended from Kalinjar in the east to Gwalior in the west; the Jamuna river formed its boundary on the north and the Betwa in the south. He was a great builder of temples. His son, Ganda (1002–20), gave help to Anandapala in resisting Mahmud. He slew Rajyapala of Kanauj for showing cowardice in the war against Mahmud, but himself behaved faint-heartedly when Mahmud invaded his territories in 1021–22.

Among his successors the most noted was Kirtivarman (1060–1100), who fought against the Kalachuris and defeated their king. The later kings of the line carried on wars against the rulers of Malwa, Gujarat and Chedi. The last king was Paramardideva (Parmala), whose officers, Alha and Udal, fought valiantly against the Chauhan Prithviraja. Qutbuddin Aibak wrested Kalinjar from him in 1203. But the Chandellas continued to rule over Bundelkhand for a long time after the loss of Kalinjar.

Their tanks and temples are the memorable monuments of their rule.

The Paramaras of Malwa.—Upendra, or Krishna Raja, was the founder of the Paramara dynasty of Malwa. The first important ruler of the line was Munja (974–95). He waged several wars against the Chalukyas of the Deccan, but was defeated and slain in 995. His nephew was the celebrated Bhoja whose glorious reign lasted for forty years (1018–58). He was a very versatile genius. He was a master of many branches of knowledge, a gifted author and a generous patron of learning. He was a successful administrator who sought zealously to promote the welfare of his people. He built a tank for irrigation and a college for Sanskrit studies. He possessed an ardent martial spirit, for he carried on successful wars against the neighbouring rulers of Gujarat, Deccan and Chedi.

The capital of Malwa, during his reign, was Dhara. After Bhoja, Malwa fell upon evil days. The Solanki rulers of Gujarat and the Kalachuris of Chedi combined to attack Malwa, and they destroyed its greatness. None of the later rulers rose to the eminence of Munja and Bhoja, although they continued to rule independently. About the middle of the twelfth century, Siddharaja of Gujarat conquered Malwa, and the power of the

Paramaras was greatly reduced. In 1235, Iltutmish raided Malwa, but it was finally annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The Solankis of Gujarat.—Mulraj Solanki set aside his maternal uncle, the Chavada king of Patan, and became its ruler. During the reign of his great-grandson, Bhima (1021–63), Mahmud invaded and sacked Somnath. The most famous ruler of the line was Jayasimha Siddharaja (1093–1143), who conquered Malwa and exacted tribute from the Chandellas. He rebuilt the temple of Somnath and erected other temples. His successor, Kumarapala (1143–73), was equally powerful. He fought against the Chauhans, the Paramaras and the other neighbouring princes. He had leanings towards Jainism. His son, Mulraj II, was on the throne when Muhammad Ghori invaded Gujarat, but was defeated in 1178. The next king, Bhima II, had a long reign (1178–1241), but it was disturbed by the turbulence of the feudatories, especially the Vaghelas, who dethroned Bhima's successor and usurped the kingdom.

The Vaghelas had to suffer from the attacks of Qutbuddin Aibak whom they repulsed. But Gujarat was conquered a century later by the armies of Alauddin Khalji.

The Palas and Senas of Bengal.—Mahipala's long reign came to an end in 1030. After him Rajpala was a notable king who conquered North Bihar and was the overlord of Assam. His successors were unimportant, and their rule was confined to West Bengal only. The Sena dynasty, which had been founded in the eleventh century, disputed their authority and became independent under Vijaya Sena. Vallala Sena and his son, Lakshmana Sena, ruled over East Bengal (Gauda) from their capital Nadia. Under them Sanskrit literature flourished greatly. In the time of Lakshmana Sena, Muhammad bin Bakhtiar Khalji overran Bihar and Bengal. But the Senas continued to rule over Eastern Bengal till they were dispossessed by Iltutmish.

2. (a) **The State of Society and Civilisation,** **A.D. 700–1200**

Social Life.—The period which followed the disappearance of the Vardhana empire and the emergence of the Rajput kingdom in the north, the rise of the Rashtrakutas in the Deccan and the Cholas in the South was one of great prosperity. Agriculture was flourishing, art and crafts were progressing and internal and

foreign trade was growing. The peace established by the Caliphs of Baghdad had opened large markets in Western Asia for Indian goods and hence commerce on a large scale was established between India and her neighbours. The literature of these times, the accounts of the foreign travellers, and the monuments of the north and the south erected in this period point to the great wealth of the country.

So far as the upper classes were concerned they enjoyed many comforts and luxuries. They lived in spacious houses, dressed in costly garments, adorned their bodies with ornaments, used scents, partook of rich and variegated meals—both vegetarian and non-vegetarian, and drank wines. They entertained themselves with music, dance and theatrical performances. They enjoyed wrestling, racing and swimming. The warriors' recreations were military exercises, elephant sports and polo. They fought duels and watched flights of birds and fights of animals. They indulged in hunting, hawking and angling.

Caste.—In the beginning of the period the caste system was already becoming rigid, although marriages were still permitted between men of higher and women of lower castes. This practice gradually ceased in the Rajput period. In the old times each caste had its own occupation, but this distinction had been gradually disappearing. A number of Brahmanas became rulers in the previous period and also in this period, and they followed other occupations like those of trade and agriculture. Some Vaishya and Shudra families attained kingship, while many Kshatriyas became cultivators. Thus, birth and not occupation became the basis of caste.

But an important change now occurred in the caste system. Each caste was divided into numerous sub-castes. The Brahmanas became divided not only by *Gotra*, but also by place of residence, so that the five Gaudas, the five Dravidas and numerous other subsections like Nagar, Saraswat, Kashmiri, etc., appeared. A similar tendency operated among the Kshatriyas. In place of the old two-fold division of the Solar and Lunar families, there were formed thirty-six classes of Rajputs. Besides these there appeared many new sub-castes of Kshatriyas in the north and in the Deccan. The Vaishyas also split up into sub-castes, as well as the Shudras. Below them were the untouchables, whose occupations were lowly and who were divided into many groups.

With the formation of the sub-divisions, inter-marriage and inter-dining between castes disappeared completely and the

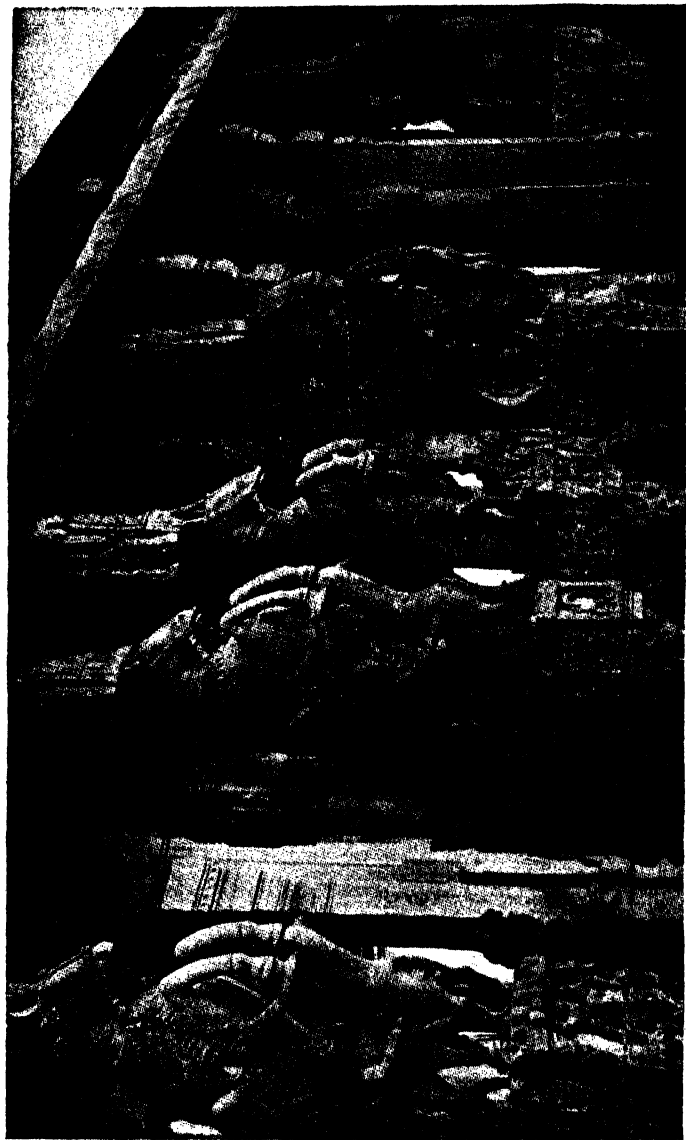


Photo : Klein and Peyerl.
Sritrangam Temple. Horse court with beautiful carved pillars depicting warriors on rearing horses.

castes became exclusive. The custom of child-marriage sprang up, the remarriage of widows was prohibited, *sati* or self-immolation was revived.

Religion.—The Buddhist religion became practically extinct in India, except that in Magadha and Bengal the Palas patronised it for some time. Jainism did not suffer such a fate, although its following diminished greatly. For a long time it flourished in Rajputana, Gujarat, Malwa, the Deccan and the South because the rulers of these regions supported it. But the rise of the new Hindu sects in the south and in the north, and the conversion of the princes to these sects, led to its decline during this period.

The aspect of Hinduism changed greatly. The performance of the Vedic sacrifices fell into abeyance. The worship of Vishnu, Shiva and Shakti became established. The Hindus took to idol worship, and ceremonies and rites multiplied. A large number of fasts, feasts, religious practices and prohibitions came into popular use. While in the early days the Hindus, who were converted to Islam, were taken back into Hinduism; in later times reversion became impossible.

A number of great Hindu religious reformers appeared in this period, especially in the South. The great Shankaracharya, who taught the doctrine of pure monism, lived in the ninth century. Ramanuja, the great Vaishnava teacher, appeared in the eleventh century. There were many devotees of Vishnu and Shiva in the Tamil lands who spread the doctrine of love and devotion to God.

Islam.—Islam entered into India during this period. Muhammad, the great Prophet of Islam, was born in Mecca in 569. He created a new state in Arabia, whose rapid expansion is one of the most remarkable phenomena of history. But the Prophet was not a nation-builder only. He was the messenger of a new faith. Before his time the Arabs were idolaters who worshipped many gods. Their morals were low and customs evil. Slavery was prevalent and women were held in low esteem. The religion which he taught is impressive in its doctrines and simple in its ritual. Islam teaches belief in one God who is the creator of all that lives and moves in the universe, and who excels all creatures in majesty and power. It teaches reverence for the Prophet who, as the messenger of God, invites men to surrender themselves to the divine will. The ritual of Islam consists of five daily prayers, fasting in the month of Ramzan, pilgrimage to Mecca, and giving of alms. Muhammad preached that it was the duty of man to deal charitably with the poor, the strangers and the orphans, and

to be gentle to all. He regarded the use of force and violence as improper in the affairs of faith. The Muslim religion insists upon the equality of men; it does not admit the need of priestcraft, it is intolerant of superstition and it exalts faith and knowledge.

Muhammad died in 632. He was succeeded by four pious Caliphs—Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Ali, who propagated Islam in the neighbouring lands and founded the empire. Then in 650, an Arab family, the Umayyah, succeeded to the Caliphate. They ruled from 650 to 750. It was during their rule that the Arab conquests spread in the west across north Africa to Spain, and in the east over Iran to Central Asia and over Baluchistan to Sindh.

The advent of Islam in India in the south dates back to the seventh century. The Muslims were welcomed by the Hindu princes because they obtained much profit from their trade. The Rajas of Malabar and the Coromandel coast and of Gujarat allowed them to settle in their dominions. The Rashtrakutas, whom they called Balhara (Vallabha Rai), were very friendly to them. They were treated with respect, and allowed to practise their faith and to build their mosques.

After their conquest of India they spread rapidly in the whole of country.

Administration.—The Rajput king was a hereditary sovereign whose authority was unlimited and autocratic, though usually paternal. He was not assisted in administration by any popular assembly or council of ministers. He appointed ministers and dismissed them at his pleasure. The number of ministers varied from eight to twelve; among them the most important was the prime minister; other ministers were in charge of foreign affairs (peace and war), revenue, treasury and army. Besides these the chief queen, the heir-apparent, the court priest (*purohit*) and the court astrologer were important persons.

The main business of the state was administration, collection of revenue, dispensation of justice, maintenance of peace and order and defence. Legislation was unknown, for the codes of law were regarded as sacred.

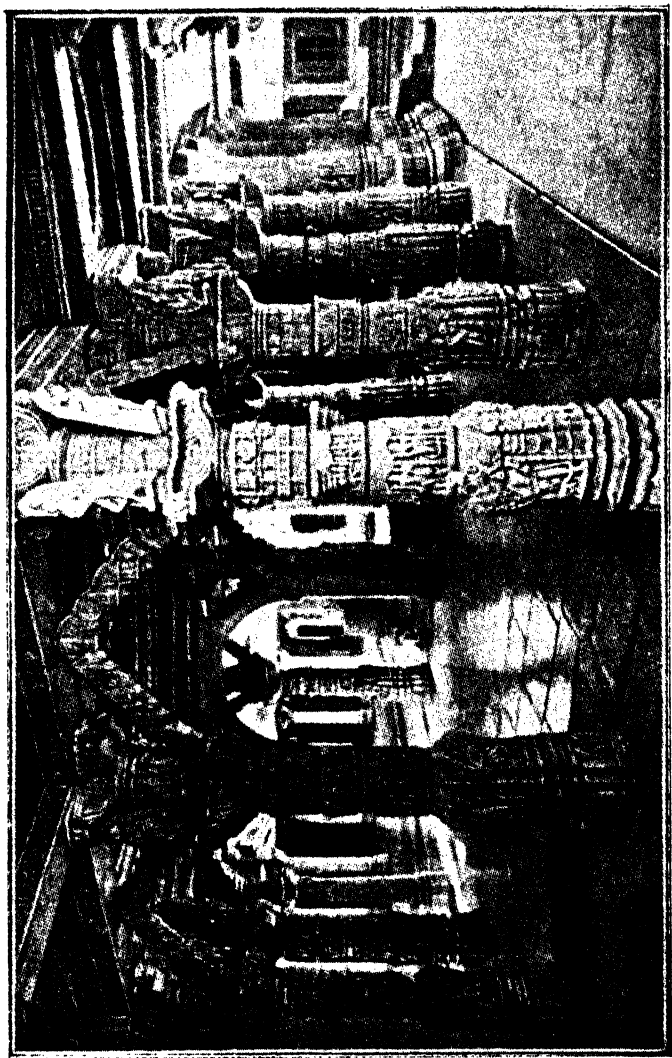
Each kingdom was divided into provinces called *Bhukti* or *Mandal* or *Rashtra*, and each province into districts called *Vishaya*, which consisted of a number of villages (*grama*). The provincial authorities were known as *Rajasthaniyas* (viceroys), district authorities as *Vishyapatis*, and the village headmen as *Gramapatis*. The revenue and taxes were collected both in kind and cash.

The king was the fountain of justice. He heard the important cases himself. For ordinary cases there were magistrates in the districts, who were assisted by police officers for the apprehension of thieves and criminals.

No difference was made between civil and criminal proceedings, and the punishments were similar for both kinds of offences. The Brahmanas and the Kshattriyas were not punished with death for murder, but were expelled from the country and their property was confiscated. For others the punishments were severe, and trials by ordeal were common. The armies of the Rajput kings consisted of the levies of the *Samantas* (chiefs). The standing armies were small and rare. The elephants formed the main strength of the army as horses were few. The bulk of the army consisted of foot soldiers. The king was the leader in battle, and his death or disappearance from the field was the signal for the dissolution of the army.

In the dominions of the Cholas the villages had a highly developed form of administration. The chief authority was vested in an assembly of a group of villages. They managed the lands, administered charities, collected taxes, and supervised roads, tanks, gardens and temples. They also dispensed justice. The king's officers superintended their work. The assemblies were constituted of elected representatives of wards into which the villages were divided. The assemblies formed committees for the performance of different functions.

Literature and Art.—The Rajput kings were generous patrons of literature, and many of them were authors of repute themselves. There was no form of literature which was not cultivated, and books were written on scientific, legal and philosophical subjects. Among the poets who flourished during this period, Bharavi, the author of *Kiratarjuniya*, and Magh, the author of *Sisupalabaddha*, belong to the early part of the eighth century. Jayadeva wrote *Gita Govinda* at the court of King Lakshmana Sena (Bengal). There were many noted writers of drama. Bhavabhuti, who lived in the first half of the eighth century, wrote a number of plays, among which *Malati Madhava* is the most popular. It relates the love-story of Malati, daughter of the king's minister, and Madhava, a young scholar. Vishakhadatta is noted for his *Mudra-Rakshasa*. The plot is based on the political intrigues of Chanakya, the Brahmana minister of Chandragupta Maurya. The *Prabodha Chandrodaya* ('The rise of the moon of knowledge') of Krishna Mishra, which exalts the



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Interior, Tejpal's Temple, Mount Abu.

Vaishnava faith, is a drama in which the actors are not human beings but symbols and abstractions.

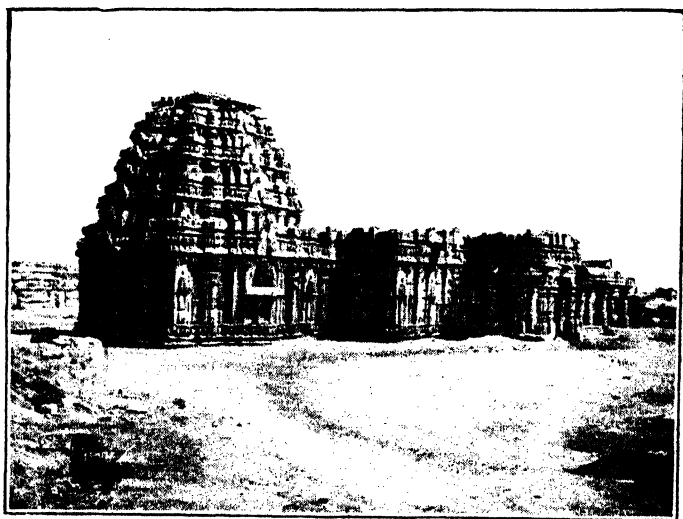
India has always been the home of fairy tales. During this period Kshemendra and Somadeva made collections of stories. The twenty-five stories of Vetala, the thirty-two stories of Vikrama's throne, and the seventy stories of a parrot, were also compiled.

The historians of the age were Bilhana, who wrote the life of Vikramaditya Chalukya (1076-1172), and Kalhana of Kashmir, the author of *Rajatarangini*, a history of Kashmir.

Among writers on law the most famous was Vijnaneshvara, who wrote the commentary known as Mitakshara which is still regarded as a standard work on Hindu law.

Sciences like mathematics, astronomy and medicine were cultivated, and important treatises were written on them.

The kings of the Rajput period lavished their wealth in erecting temples, and their devotion and piety have studded the country with the most wonderful specimens of architecture. Three types of temples were evolved. In the north, the temples have towers (*Shikhara*) which rise in a continuous vertical line upwards; in the Chalukyan temples these towers are broken in stages; and in the Dravidian architecture of the south, the stages become



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Ittigi Temple of Mahadeva.

separate, so that the towers are really pyramidal piles of receding storeys.

The finest specimens of the northern style are the temples of Bhuvaneshwara in Orissa, the temples of Shiva at Udaipur in Malwa, and at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand; of the Chalukyan style the temples at Halebid in Mysore, and Ittigi near Hyderabad; of the Dravidian style those at Kanchi, Tanjore, Madura, Trichinopoly, and other places. The Jinas were great builders too. Their temples on Mount Abu and Sravana Belgola are famous.

2. (b) Causes of the Downfall of the Rajputs

India reached a high degree of prosperity and civilisation during the Rajput period. Yet when its princes and peoples came into conflict with the Arabs and the Turks, who were not superior to them in intellect, wealth or culture, they were unable to withstand their attacks. Why did they fail so signally? Some historians have sought to explain their defeat by the fact that the Indians were inhabitants of a warm country and therefore weak, lazy and timorous, while the conquerors, who hailed from cold regions, were strong, active and brave. This is not true. The Indian princes and their followers showed the same fierce courage, the same hardy endurance and physical strength, the same untiring energy as their foreign enemies. In fact the Turks and Afghans who conquered the Rajputs, and the inhabitants of the Punjab, Rajputana and Sindh who were vanquished by the Turks, belonged to the same race.

Nor was their religious zeal and piety of a higher order. Whatever may be true of the Muslims who fought under the first Caliphs, in later times they fought more for empire and wealth than for religion. Did not the Muslim princes, tribes and clans carry on incessant wars against one another for supremacy and power? The ties which bound the Turkish king and his chiefs were similar to the powerful relations of the Rajput prince and his *Samantas* (chiefs). In either case the follower fought for the lord, and the battle hung upon the fate of the commander. His fall led in both cases to the flight of the army.

The secret of the success of the invaders must be sought in other causes.

In the first place, there was complete absence of political unity and national solidarity among the states and societies of India. So far as the states were concerned there were any number of them,

some large and powerful, others small and weak. But they were independent and failed to coalesce. There was also little cohesion between the rulers and their subjects, for the ruling classes enjoyed many privileges which were denied to the ruled. In the ruling class itself there were family feuds, in which personal sentiments of loyalty and hostility played their part, even to the detriment of the ruler.

Then every ruler regarded every other ruler as his rival and was always planning to humiliate him, extract tribute from him or annex his territory. Such universal and unending state of strife gave encouragement to foreigners to invade India, specially when the help of dissatisfied men was easily available.

Although the vast majority of the people of India were Hindus, religious and sectarian jealousies existed among them. Like the Christian nations of Europe and the Muslim nations of Asia and Africa, the Hindus of India were also divided into numerous independent and mutually antagonistic principalities. They could not form a united state of all the Hindus of India. They could not even make permanent or even temporary alliances to protect their interests against internal or external enemies.

Religion, thus, failed to provide a basis for permanent political organisation, so the Hindus remained split into a multiplicity of polities, and fell easy prey to foreign adventurers.

Then the social system of the Hindus was a great handicap. The castes into which the community was divided were organised on the principle of birth and occupation, on the distinction of high and low, on inequality, so that there was no possibility of any one changing his social position. Birth determined the status of a person and not his merit. A good and able person born in a low class had to live as an inferior being throughout his life. He was looked down upon by higher caste people, and had no opportunity to rise.

There was no incentive for progress and advancement for the individual in such a society. Again, the fixity of occupation compelled the majority to follow agricultural and industrial arts and crafts, but barred them from participating in the higher professions of learning and arms. They had no part in government and its activities and had no responsibility for the security of the country. As the members of the different castes could not dine together nor intermarry there was no sense of social oneness among them. The feeling of nationalism did not exist. The exclusiveness of social groups bred isolationism. The result

was that the Hindus, princes and statesmen, were so absorbed in their own affairs that they were quite unaware of what was happening in the countries across the borders of India. The rise of Islam and the political developments in Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan which ought to have been of deep concern to them were hardly noticed by the Rajput rulers in northern India.

Society in which there is a wide gulf between the small privileged ruling class and the large numbers of working and producing classes—Brahmanas and Kshatriyas on the one hand and Vaishyas and Shudras on the other—inevitably lacks solidarity and strength. If in addition the rulers are heedless of affairs beyond their limited territories the dangers to the state become enormous. The social inequality, lack of knowledge and isolation were responsible for the repeated humiliations which India suffered at the hands of invaders.

On the other hand, their Muslim conquerors possessed social solidarity. Their social system was founded on equality, rich or poor, high or low. Even a slave had the opportunity to become an emperor. Hence, although the Turks and Afghans were divided into tribes and clans politically jealous of one another, they had greater fellow-feeling and mutual sympathy.

Another important cause of the failure of the Rajputs to resist the invaders was their military inferiority. The Indian armies were composed of masses of untrained levies. The elephants, the chariots and the foot soldiers carrying various kinds of arms formed the bulk of the army. Their movement was slow and their power of offence limited. In defence they could easily be thrown into confusion and made helpless.

The Turks, on the other hand, fought mainly on horseback. They were the finest riders and archers of the world. They had a far greater range of effective operations. The onset of a cavalry squadron could hardly be checked by the static, undisciplined and inadequately armed Indian infantry of those times. They could rapidly wheel round and attack the Indian mass from all sides. If repulsed they could retreat swiftly and save themselves from defeat. If successful, they simply butchered the congested ranks of their opponents who moved only towards the centre. Thus the superior social structure of the Muslims, which evoked stronger sentiments of union and a higher sense of human worth, and the superior military tactics of the Turks, were responsible for the triumph of the invaders.

CHAPTER V

THE MUSLIM CONQUEST OF INDIA

1. (a) India (A.D. 1200–1526)

Introduction.—Mahmud of Ghazni had annexed the Punjab to his vast empire. His successors continued to rule the province for nearly a century and a half. But the empire soon began to decline after Mahmud's death in 1032. The Seljuqs, a Turkish tribe, rose in Central Asia and drove out the Ghaznavides from there. Then the Shamsabani chieftain of the small mountain principality of Ghor threw off his allegiance to Ghazni and forced the successors of Mahmud to leave their territories in Afghanistan. Thus their rule was confined only to the Punjab.

In 1163 A.D. Ghiyasuddin Muhammad ascended the throne of Ghor. His brother Shihabuddin Muhammad, also known as Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam, who was an ambitious prince, began to lead expeditions into India. He put an end to the dynasty of Mahmud by seizing Khusrau Malik, the last ruler of the line, and occupying the Punjab in 1186.

After securing possession of the Punjab the Ghori armies soon overran northern India as far as Assam. Their successors, the Mamluk Sultans of Delhi, organised the conquered territories into an empire, protected India from the invasions of the Mongols and laid the foundations for the expansion of Muslim rule over India. The Khaljis captured the Rajput forts, annexed Gujarat and extended their dominions over the Deccan and the South. The Tughlaqs who followed them maintained the vast empire till about the end of the fourteenth century. But the invasion of Timur in 1388 and internal dissensions broke it up into a number of principalities.

At last Babar, the descendant of Timur and the ruler of Afghanistan, taking advantage of the divided condition of the country displaced the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and laid the foundations of the Mughal Empire in India.

1. (b) The Ghoris

The Ghoris were 'chiefs' of the small principality of Ghor situated between Ghazni and Herat. They were of Iranian

origin, and were the feudatories of the Ghaznavides. In 1151 Alauddin Husain became ruler. He attacked Ghazni, captured and burnt it. His nephew Ghiyasuddin ascended the throne in 1163. He appointed his brother Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori governor of Ghazni in 1173.

Muhamad Ghori resolved to lead his forces into India. The object of Muhammad Ghori's invasions of India was threefold; firstly, to punish and overthrow the Muslim heretics who had established sway in Multan; secondly, to wreak vengeance upon the dynasty of Mahmud which governed the Punjab; and, thirdly, to establish Ghori dominion in India.

The first object was accomplished in two expeditions (1176-78), when Multan and Uchh were taken and the heretics were uprooted.

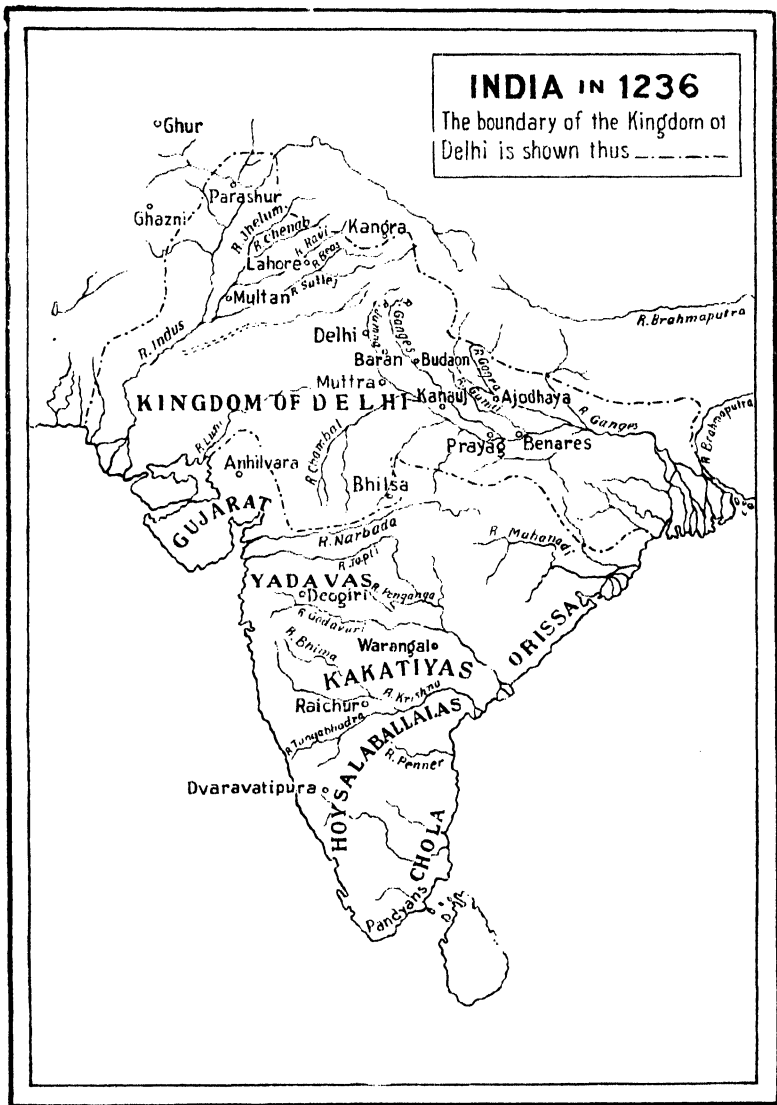
In order to realise the second object, Muhammad made an alliance with the Raja of Jammu, and led several expeditions into the Punjab (1179-86). In the last expedition Khusrau Malik was taken prisoner and sent to Ghazni, where later he was put to death. Thus the Punjab came into the possession of the Ghoris.

The desire to conquer India had taken an early hold of the mind of Muhammad. In 1178 he had led an army from Multan through the desert of Rajputana to Anhilwara, the capital of Gujarat. Raja Bhim Vaghela offered resistance, and inflicted upon him a defeat so great that he was compelled to retreat. In 1191, however, after he had acquired the Punjab, he again pursued his old designs and captured Bhatinda, which belonged to the kingdom of Delhi. Prithviraja advanced to attack him, and the Ghori and Chauhan forces met on the field of Taraori. Muhammad Ghori was defeated and his commandant had to surrender Bhatinda.

The next year (1192) Muhammad returned to wipe out the disgrace, and won a complete victory on the same field of battle over Prithviraja, who fell fighting. The kingdom of Delhi and Ajmer passed into the hands of the invaders.

Meanwhile Qutbuddin Aibak, the viceroy of the Ghoris in India, had to face the risings of the Hindu chiefs. In 1192, the siege of Hansi by the Jats was raised, then Meerut was occupied. In 1193 Delhi was evacuated by the Tomaras and made the capital of the Shansabani Sultans. In 1194 Kol (Koil, Aligarh) was taken. Ajmer, which was invested by Prithviraj's brother, was attacked and captured in the same year.

Muhammad Ghori now turned his attention to the Gahadwads



of Kanauj and defeated Jayachand at Chandawar (in Etawah district). The country as far as Monghyr fell into the hands of the Ghoris. Varanasi was occupied. In 1195 Bayana and Gwalior submitted and the attacks of the Rajputs in Ajmer repulsed. Next year Aibak led his army against the Chalukyas of Gujarat. He defeated Bhima II and entered Anhilwara.

But the Chalukyas came back later and recovered the town.

The Turkish forces now turned their attention to the Doab. Bayana fell into their hands and the Parihara prince surrendered Gwalior. Badaun was captured in 1197. This was followed by hostilities against the Chandellas of Bundelkhand. Unable to withstand the attack the Raja of Kalinjar submitted and became a vassal of the Sultan. Mahoba and Khajuraho were also occupied.

In 1202 Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar, a captain in the army of the Turkish governor of Varanasi, collected a band of adventurers and began his raids in Bihar and Bengal. He captured the city of Bihar. Then he marched at the head of his troops to Nadia and occupied the town. The province was easily conquered and annexed. Lakhnauti (Gaur) was made the capital.

Muhammad Ghori's last exploit in India was to put down the revolt of the Khokars in 1206. He subdued them, and was returning to Ghazni, when he was assassinated by a Muslim fanatic.

Character and Estimate of Muhammad Ghori.—Muhammad was possessed of many qualities like the great Mahmud; he patronised learned men, was generous, just and God-fearing. Although he cannot be compared with Mahmud in generalship, his conquests were better organised and, therefore, more stable. But it must be remembered that Mahmud's ambitions lay in carving out an empire in the west, and his invasions of India were mainly undertaken for the purpose of securing the means by which his aim could be realised. Neither Mahmud nor Muhammad was a fanatic. Although both harried and slaughtered the followers of heretical Muslim sects, neither of them made any forced conversions in India on a large scale. Mahmud and his successors had Hindu soldiers and officers in their armies who fought their Muslim enemies. Muhammad attacked the Ghaznavide ruler of Lahore in alliance with the Hindu Raja of Jammu. Both sacked and plundered temples, but only those of their enemies and during the operations of war. Conquest and war were regarded in those times as the necessary part of a king's duties. The Hindu Kshattriya kings performed this duty by the *Digvijaya* (world conquest), and the Muslim rulers by invading non-Muslim territories and bringing them under their sway. Muhammad's wars were inspired by the desire for glory.

1. (c) **The Mamluk Sultans, A.D. 1206–1290**

At the time of Muhammad's death, the Ghori empire was divided into a number of provinces which were governed by viceroys. Tajuddin Yilduz was governor of Kirman, Nasiruddin Qabacha of Multan and Sindh, Qutbuddin Aibak governed Hindustan, while Ikhtiyaruddin held Bengal. Qutbuddin was a trusted general who had won many victories and reduced many forts. He was wise, active and energetic and possessed a magnanimous spirit. The Turkish officers elected him king of Hindustan on the death of Muhammad in 1206. Both Qabacha and Ikhtiyaruddin acknowledged him as sovereign. In this manner he became the first independent Muslim ruler of India. His rule, however, lasted for only four years, for he died in 1210 after falling from his horse while playing polo.

Iltutmish, 1210–36.—The nobles residing at the capital of Delhi did not favour the accession of Qutbuddin's son to the throne. They supported Iltutmish, who was then governor of Badaun, and with their help he ascended the throne in 1210.

The reign of Iltutmish was occupied with wars and expeditions. He had to fight with his rivals for the throne, to suppress the revolts of his governors and officers, and to lead expeditions against the Hindu Rajas who had recovered some of the forts taken by Aibak. When he found his hands free from these wars, he organised attacks on the Hindu kingdoms which had not recognised the supremacy of the Turks.

He first defeated Qutbuddin's son who had taken possession of Delhi. Next he proceeded to Lahore which had been occupied by Yilduz. He defeated Yilduz in 1216, imprisoned him and later executed him. Qabacha, who had seized Lahore after the defeat of Yilduz, was driven away and the Punjab came under Iltutmish's rule.

At this time the Mongols appeared upon the frontier of India in pursuit of Jalaluddin, a Central Asian king. But fortunately they retired, and did not cross the Indus. Qabacha had to protect Sindh from Jalaluddin's encroachments, and Iltutmish made up his mind to put an end to his rival. He marched into Sindh and so vigorously pursued Qabacha that the latter drowned himself in the Indus. Multan and Sindh were annexed to the Delhi empire.

While Iltutmish was engaged in the Punjab and Sindh, the Rajput princes made an effort to regain the territories which they

had lost to Aibak. The Pariharas at Gwalior, the Chauhans at Ranthambhor and Jalor and the Jadon Bhattis at Bayana and Ajmer were in revolt. Iltutmish started a campaign in Rajasthan. He recaptured Ranthambhor, but was repulsed at Nagda by Guhilots. He had success in Bayana, but failed to subdue the Chauhans and Paramaras of Malwa. Gwalior fell into his hands, but Chandellas could not be evicted from Jhansi.

In the Doab a number of Hindu chiefs defied his authority, and he had to reconquer Badaun, Kanauj and Varanasi. But the reign remained disturbed for many years.

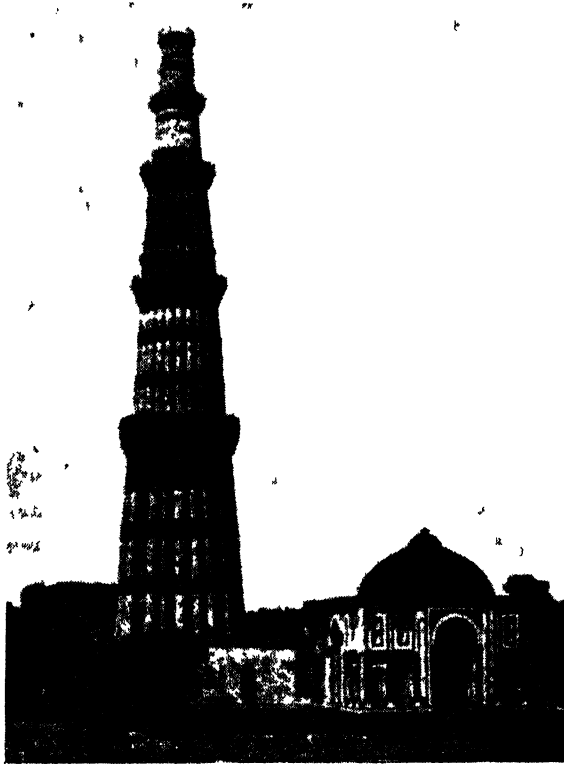
His success over his rivals made Iltutmish the undisputed master of northern India. In 1225 he turned his attention to Bengal which had assumed independence under Iwaz, a Khalji noble. The rebel officer was defeated and later killed by the royal force.

The fortresses of Ranthambhor and Gwalior, which had been partially subdued, were again attacked and the province of Malwa was raided and much booty obtained. While proceeding against the Khokars the Sultan fell ill, and died on his return to Delhi in 1236.

Iltutmish was the first Muslim ruler under whom the territories conquered by the Turks were united. Although his commands were obeyed in all the conquered provinces, the title of the Mamluk Sultan to the throne of Delhi was never very strong, and therefore Iltutmish obtained a confirmation of the title from the Caliph of Baghdad, who was regarded as the highest spiritual and earthly authority among the Muslims.

Iltutmish was a ruler of unusual vigour. During his reign of twenty-six years he never showed any relaxation from the labours of maintaining his empire, which was threatened by enemies from within and without. In fact he left to his successors a dominion larger than the one he had received, and he also laid the foundations of a system of administration which lasted for a long time. He was not only a good soldier and administrator, but also a patron of learned and pious men and a great builder. Of his buildings the Qutb Minar at Delhi is the most famous.

The Ten Years of Anarchy.—Confusion prevailed in the realm during the ten years following the death of Iltutmish. The Forty Slaves of Iltutmish, who were his chief officers, had formed themselves into a league which attempted to dictate the policy of the state and to raise to the throne rulers subservient to them; and they thwarted every attempt to diminish their power. Sultana



Qutb Minar.

Razia, who had been nominated to the throne by her father, reigned for a little over three years (1236–39) and was deposed by the Forty. Her successors were mere puppets.

Their reigns were 'full of murder, treachery and intrigue'. The Mongols, who since 1216 had been hovering on the Indian frontier, now entered India and appeared before Lahore. The governor made a feeble defence and the city fell into their hands in 1241, and they harried Multan, Sindh, and the Punjab. In the east, Bengal and Bihar became independent and the Hindu Raja of Orissa successfully marched through Bengal in 1243.

Nasiruddin Mahmud, 1246–66.—The situation in the kingdom was desperate when Nasiruddin Mahmud, a son of Iltutmish, was raised to the throne by the nobles in 1246. In Ghiasuddin Balban he found a supremely capable minister who guided the destinies of the state for the next forty years. Although Mahmud occupied the throne, Balban, his lieutenant, was the

real ruler. After his death Balban assumed the kingship in name as well as in fact.

Balban was faced with two difficult problems—firstly, the defence of the country from the invasions of the Mongols; and, secondly, the establishment of order in the kingdom. The two problems were connected, because internal disorder gave encouragement to the Mongols to attack the kingdom.

The main factors in the creation of internal disorder were two—the recalcitrant league of the Forty Slaves and the turbulent Hindu barons and chiefs. In order to realise the difficulties of Balban it is necessary to understand the position of the Forty Slaves and the Hindu chiefs. The conquest of India by Muhammad Ghori and his captains, Aibak and Iltutmish, had led to the military occupation of the country. The conquerors, however, had not sufficient officers and men to undertake the direct administration of the conquered lands. Therefore they divided the country into provinces, and entrusted the command of the fortresses, from which the provinces (*vilayat*) could be controlled to their important and trusted officers (*Walis* and *Muqtis*) who were required to maintain troops and collect revenues. Again, in the absence of a regular civil service, the estates of the Hindus were allowed to remain in the hands of the Hindu Rais and Rajas, and the old Hindu village organisation was left undisturbed. Thus between the king and his subjects were two kinds of intermediaries, viz., the Muslim commanders and the Hindu chiefs.

In the time of Iltutmish the important commanders formed the league of the Forty. They were jealous of the ascendancy of Balban and desired to bring about his downfall. Their intrigues and revolts were a source of great disturbance. The Hindu chiefs, who had their own castles and retainers, and who paid their revenues only under compulsion or fear, took advantage of this state of disaffection to refuse payment and to assert their independence. Circumstances helped the rebels. The country was in that period thinly populated and largely covered with forests, through which passed roads communicating with the provinces. It was easy to defy authority and hold up the movement of the royal troops in the jungles. Throughout the reign of Mahmud, Balban, whose authority depended upon the support and confidence of the Sultan, was continually thwarted by the Forty, and their conduct gave encouragement to the Hindus and the Mongols.

For instance a conspiracy of the nobles succeeded in 1253 to

deprive Balban of his power, but his removal was followed by the uprising of the faction in favour of Balban and the King was obliged to restore the authority of Balban in 1254.

Among the internal disorders were the revolt and independence of the governors of Bihar and Bengal and disturbances in Awadh and the Doab; risings in Mewat and revival of the power of Hindu chiefs—Chandellas of Gwalior, Bhars of Mahoba and Hamirpur, Vaghelas of Rewah, and Chauhans of Rajputana.

In the east, the governor of Lakhnauti seized Bihar and proceeded to take possession of Kara Manikpur and Awadh. The governor was removed, but his successor showed defiance of Delhi authority. Ultimately one Tatar Khan usurped the provinces of Awadh, Bihar and Bengal and exercised autonomous rule, although without assuming sovereignty.

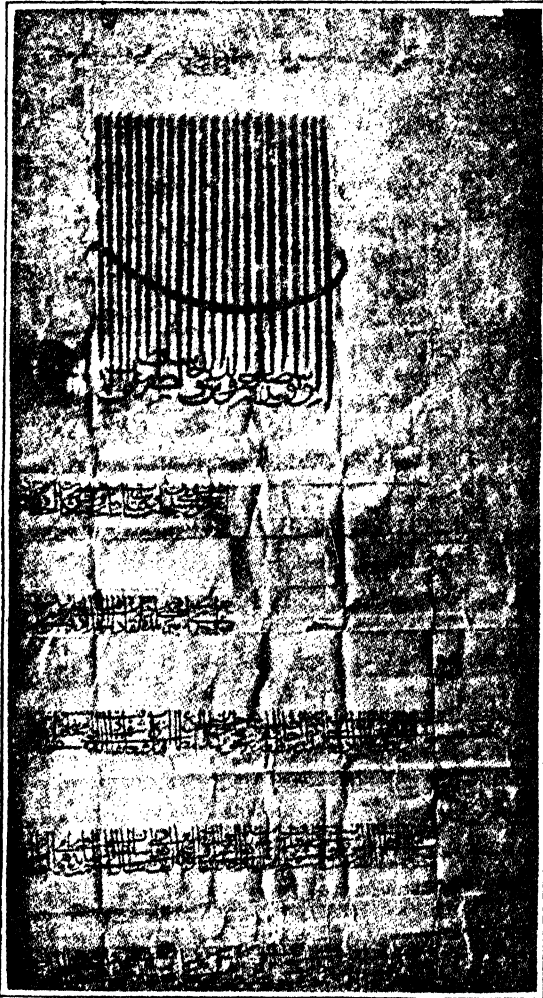
The revival of Rajput power and the disorders in the Doab were a severe strain upon the resources of the government. Its forces were heavily engaged but were unable to subdue the unruly elements.

The Mongol Raids.—The Mongols had first appeared on the banks of the Indus in 1212. Then after 30 years they renewed their forays. In 1241, they plundered Lahore and made the Punjab a Mongol province. They then occupied Multan and Uchh. By 1255 Sindh had passed into the possession of the Mongols. In 1257, they marched towards Delhi, but were compelled to withdraw. Control over Sindh was restored, but the Punjab remained for many years in the possession of the Mongols.

Balban, 1266–86.—On the death of Nasiruddin Mahmud, Ghiasuddin Balban ascended the throne in 1266. He was now able to accomplish his task with greater facility. He reformed the administration and reasserted the power of the king. Among his important measures were the reorganisation of the army and the increase of its efficiency, the establishment of a spy system in order to keep himself informed of the doings of the officials and of happenings in the kingdom, and the rigorous dispensation of justice irrespective of persons. He appointed trusted officers, usually his relatives, to the important provincial governorships, and gave the charge of the Frontier Provinces to his ablest son. He removed suspected officers from their posts, closely scrutinised the grants made to them, and frequently transferred them. He cleared the jungles round Delhi and the Doab, and built roads which were properly guarded. He undertook no expeditions for the extension of the dominions, but prevented all

encroachments on his frontiers. At his court he observed a rigid etiquette, and allowed no unseemly or undignified conduct.

The effect of these measures was that the kingdom enjoyed a peace which was little disturbed by rebellions. The Hindus of Mewat and the Doab were kept in effective check, and the only rebellion he had to suppress was that of Tughril, governor of



Farman of Ghiyasuddin Balban, 27th February, A.D. 1273.
(Loan Collection of Antiquities.)

Bengal, who in 1279 withheld the tribute and repudiated his allegiance to Delhi. Balban marched into Bengal, defeated and slew Tughril and made a terrible example of those who had participated in the rebellion.

The north-west frontier, which was menaced several times by the advance of the Mongols, was well guarded by his governors of Multan and Samana. But in 1285, Prince Muhammad, his eldest son, was killed fighting against them, and the shock hastened the death of the aged Sultan.

Balban's Character.—Balban had an exalted idea of the kingly office, and his behaviour was dignified and reserved. He was a strict disciplinarian, a hard-working monarch who expected his officers to maintain a high standard of efficiency. He was severe upon his lieutenants, and terrible in punishing the unruly and disobedient. He was a vigorous administrator and an intrepid general. He was a loving father and a kind-hearted man, fond of learning and culture.

Balban's Successors.—Balban's eldest son, Muhammad, died before his father; the second son, Bughra Khan, was governor of Bengal and he did not aspire to the crown of Delhi. Balban had nominated Kaikhusrau, son of Muhammad, as his successor, but the nobles raised Kaiqubad, son of Bughra, to the throne. Kaiqubad was a boy who gave himself up to pleasure, and his minister, Nizamuddin, carried on the government. The minister's partiality and insolence led to hostilities between the Turki and Khalji nobles. At last Jalaluddin Firoz Khalji seized power, and Kaiqubad was ignominiously killed.

Central Government.—The Mamluk Sultans were the first foreign rulers who established their own system of government in India. Under the Islamic law (*Shariat*) the Caliph was regarded as the sovereign and supreme authority over all Muslims of the world. The Sultans of different realms were in theory his subordinates who derived their authority from the Caliph.

In fact, however, the Caliphs had completely lost their power, and the Sultans considered themselves independent sovereigns, but in order to keep up appearances and to impress the Muslim subjects, they recognised in name the Caliph as the head of the Muslims. They proclaimed this in the mosques every Friday and struck on the coins the Caliph's name. But these were mere formalities and had little political importance.

The Sultan was in reality the absolute monarch. But his authority was supreme only in the executive sphere. He did

not make laws which were laid down for all Muslims in the codes of laws, which were interpreted and applied by *Qazis* (judges) and *Muftis* (jurists). Orders and decrees were issued from time to time concerning administrative matters by the Sultan.

As the executive head the Sultans were more like the ancient Iranian emperors than the chiefs under Islamic tradition. They looked upon themselves as divine holders of authority.

The Sultan had a number of ministers. The Wazir was prominent among them. He supervised the army organisation and controlled the finances. But later his main function was finance and collection of land revenue. Next in importance was the *Ariz-i-Mamalik* (the head of the army department). He was in charge of the officers and troops. The ministry in charge of drafting royal proclamations and despatches was known as *Diwan-i-Insha*. The fourth minister dealt with foreign relations and was called *Diwan-i-Risalat*. The departments which dealt with judiciary, information and intelligence, treasure and household were in charge of officers under the ministers.

The functions, the influence and the authority of the ministers depended largely upon the wishes of the Sultan and were not prescribed by rules.

The Provincial Administration.—The kingdom was divided into *Iqtas* or *Wilayats*. Over them the Sultan appointed military governors, *Muqtis* and *Walis*. They maintained a body of troops out of the provincial revenues. They collected the land revenue, and after deducting the sums needed for the army and the administration remitted the balance to the Central Government. Their salary was a fixed share in the revenue. But their accounts were periodically examined by the Finance Department.

The governors resided in the capital town of the province where the garrison was stationed to keep the province under control. The governor carried out military expeditions against rebels and enemies and generally maintained peace and order. In the matter of administration and war he enjoyed large powers.

During the rule of the Mamluks the provinces do not appear to have been divided into smaller administrative units. The villages in the provinces paid the land revenue, either directly to the officers of the governor, or the agents of the person to whom the revenue of the area was granted or assigned, or to the old Rajas and Zamindars whose numbers were quite large.

Afterwards the villages were grouped into Parganas under

headmen and accountants (*Chaudhri* and *Qanungo*). The village headman was *Muqaddam* and accountant *Patwari*.

The grants of revenue were either for military service or to the men of religion and learning.

The government dealt with the holders of assignments and the chiefs, and did not interfere in their relations with the peasants and cultivators; its revenue consisted of receipts from lands directly administered by its officials (*Khalsa*), and the revenue remitted from provinces by the assignment-holders and chiefs. In the collection of revenue the government 'aimed at a peaceful and contented peasantry, raising ample produce and paying a reasonable revenue'. The collectors of this revenue were mainly Hindu village officials, and the intermediaries between the villages and the state were also largely Hindu chiefs. The Muslim commanders and governors were few, and they held the country by means of garrisons maintained in fortresses scattered over the land. The Muslim system of administration differed little from that of the Hindus. The Muslim Sultans replaced Hindu Rajas, but the Hindus were generally treated with justice and tolerance, although there were occasional cases of tyranny. The Mamluk rulers were not actuated by a desire to propagate Islam by force, or to administer the country in accordance with the wishes of narrowminded and bigoted theologians. In these early years of Turkish rule, the Hindu chiefs were offering continuous resistance to the establishment of alien rule and hence the new government bore the character of a military occupation.

The Judiciary.—The laws applicable to the Muslims were known as *Shariat* (religious codes). But the Hindus followed in civil matters—marriage, inheritance, transfer of land, etc.—their own customs or sacred codes. The Muslim rulers interfered as little as possible in their affairs. In criminal matters the Muslim penal law was applied—more strictly to the Muslims and less rigidly to the Hindus.

For judicial administration, the Muslims were under the jurisdiction of the *Qazis* appointed by the king for provinces and other localities. The king dispensed justice personally in important cases. Below him was the *Qazi al Quzzat* (the Chief Justice). Under him were judicial officers (*Amir-i-dad* or *Dadbak*) in cities.

The police work was entrusted to the *Kotwal* in the towns.

The *Panchayats* carried on much of the judicial work in the villages. The Hindu chiefs and headmen were responsible for trying and punishing criminals in their locality.

Social Conditions.—The advent of the Muslims in India introduced a new social and cultural factor in India. The Muslims who came from Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan were converted Turks, Iranians and Afghans and later Mughals. During the Mamluk times a number of Hindus belonging mainly to the Jat and Rajput tribes of the Punjab joined them.

The Muslims were divided by tribes which formed separate groups. They were divided into a number of classes. The higher class Muslims were either men of the sword (*Ahli Saif*) or men of the pen (*Ahli qalam*). The first were rulers, officials and soldiers. Among them there were three main grades—*Amir*, *Malik* and *Khan*.

The second class consisted of the men of learning—the *Ulama*, religious leaders, judicial officers, etc.

Below these classes were the commoners, among whom were traders, artisans and craftsmen.

Apart from them, but mainly belonging to the second class, were the Sufis or men who like Hindu Sadhus and Sannyasis had devoted their life to religion and withdrawn from worldly pursuits. They were the missionaries of Islam who by precept and example attracted people into the Islamic fold. They came into contact with the *yogis* and *sadhus* and learnt from them many practices of *yoga*.

The Hindu society did not change much. The caste system became more rigid. The Brahmanas lost the patronage of the state and the Kshattriyas much of their military occupations. But the trading, banking and business classes grew in wealth as trade increased both at home and in foreign countries, for intercourse between them and India greatly increased.

The Hindus continued to follow their traditional religion and culture. The conquerors had invaded India not out of religious zeal but out of greed for land and gold. They did some damage to the temples, for instance the temples at Ajmer and Delhi were wrecked and mosques were built on their sites. But the accounts of destruction are exaggerated, as most of the temples built in pre-Muslim times remained standing as places of worship in subsequent ages.

Although Muslim kings and governors ruled the country, in practice most of the Hindus of these times lived under Hindu chiefs who paid tribute to the government, but were otherwise autonomous. In addition to the tribute and the land tax which both Muslims and non-Muslims had to pay, some Sultans levied

the capitation tax on the Hindus. But many persons including the Brahmanas, old men and children and the sick and the poor were exempted.

Then the Turkish rulers were not very strict about religion, so that the *Ulama* bitterly complained of their deviation from the commands of religious law. Thus they neither prohibited Hindu religious worship, nor took much interest in conversion. Some Hindus were appointed to administrative posts, for instance the Kotwal of Delhi was a Hindu. But their numbers were small.

The living of the Hindus and Muslims together gradually diminished the hatred between them and they began to influence one another's culture.

The Monuments.—The Turkish rulers of the thirteenth century combined in the architecture of their buildings the elements of the styles of Arabia, Iran and Central Asia and of the Hindus of India.

The large halls of the mosques and the tombs covered with domes resting on arches supported by pillars were foreign. But the plans, designs and decorative elements together with the use of sculptured stone work owed a great deal to India.

Among the buildings the most noteworthy are the *Quwwatul Islam* mosque in Mehrauli near Delhi, and the mosque known as *Dhai din ka Jhonpra* at Ajmer.

The *Qutb Minar* at Mehrauli was begun by Qutbuddin Aibak and completed by Iltutmish. Such circular towers were built earlier in Syria, Ghazni, Turkestan. The latest example was the tower at Jam (Firozkoh in Afghanistan) built by the Ghori ruler Ghiyasuddin Muhammad (1163–1202). The *Qutb Minar* is a copy of this tower not built in brick and mortar but in stone.

1. (d) The Khaljis, 1290–1320

Jalaluddin Khalji was an old man of seventy when he ascended the throne in 1290. He was kind and gentle, simple and forbearing. He was not disposed to take stern measures against the rebels. He forgave even those who entertained seditious designs against his rule or raised the standard of revolt. He was a peace-loving man, who led few conquering expeditions. He allowed even the Mongols to settle down in the neighbourhood of Delhi. They were converted and were known as the New Muslims. They were responsible for much intolerance and disorder.

The only noteworthy events of his reign were the raids of

Alauddin. Alauddin, who was the nephew and son-in-law of the Sultan, was governor of Kara and Oudh. His mind was poisoned against his uncle by his counsellors and the intrigues of his wife and mother-in-law. He was very ambitious and desirous of establishing a principality for himself. He first raided Malwa (1292) and captured Bhilsa. He then turned to the Deccan. He had heard of the fabulous wealth of the Deccan, and he also knew of the divisions and feuds of the princes in that region. He determined to take advantage of their weakness to obtain the booty which he could utilise in realising his aims. Without informing the Sultan of his project he led an expedition to the south. He marched through Central India and the Vindhyan region and arrived before Devagiri. Ramachandra Yadava was taken unawares. He was utterly unprepared for the attack, for his son, Shankar, had gone southwards with the greater part of the army. He therefore made proposals of peace which Alauddin accepted. Shankar, who now returned to Devagiri, disapproved of the terms and offered battle, but his forces were defeated and Ramachandra had to sue for peace again. He had to pay an enormous indemnity, and Alauddin returned to Kara with an immense quantity of gold and other precious articles.

Jalaluddin set out from Delhi to congratulate his nephew on the success of his wonderful exploit, and to claim the state's share of the booty. The crafty nephew, who was aiming now at the throne of Delhi, lured the trustful old man to Kara unarmed and unattended by his troops. While embracing him he gave a sign, and his men murdered the Sultan and his companions.

Alauddin, 1296-1316.—Alauddin was now proclaimed king, and he proceeded to Delhi where he won over the nobles and the army by lavish bribes. The empire which he thus acquired by treachery, he ruled for twenty years (1296-1316) with unprecedented success.

Since the death of Balban, through the weakness of his successors, the change of dynasty, and the mildness of Jalaluddin, the central authority had become weak. The usual consequences followed: the Mongols resumed their annual plundering raids, the Muslim noblemen were disaffected against the new dynasty, and the Hindu chiefs became rebellious. Alauddin faced the difficulties boldly, and adopted strong measures to overcome them. The success that he attained gave him the opportunity fully to satisfy his desire for conquest and glory. His reign falls into four periods.

I. During the first period (1296-1302) Alauddin was mainly

engaged in repelling the Mongol invasions, fighting the Rajputs and reducing their forts, and suppressing the insurrections of the noblemen, the New Muslims, and others. The only conquest of the period was that of the kingdom of Gujarat. His rivals, the sons of Jalaluddin, had risen against him, and defied him from Multan. Alauddin sent his forces against them and made them prisoners.

Among other insurrections was that of Haji Maula, an officer at Delhi, in 1301. But the royal troops defeated and killed the rebel.

The Mongols attacked India again and again. Their first incursion was soon after Alauddin's accession to the throne. But they were defeated near Jalandhar and driven out of India. They came back again in 1299 led by Qutlugh Khwaja, crossed the Indus and marched to Delhi. The resistance of the Indian forces, however, frightened the Mongols and they retreated.

Meanwhile Alauddin resolved upon the conquest of Gujarat. As his armies approached Anhilwara the Vaghela Raja Karna fled to Devagiri and the capital fell into the hands of the Delhi army (1298). Alauddin appointed his own governor to administer the country.

The fort of Ranthambhor was in the possession of the Chauhan prince Hammirdev who had refused to surrender it to Jalaluddin. In 1301 Alauddin laid siege to it and captured it. The Raja and his faithful Muslim general Mir Muhammad Shah died fighting bravely. But the two Hindu commanders, Ratipala and Krishna-pala betrayed their chief and caused the loss of the fortress.

Alauddin then began to entertain very grand designs of conquest and religious reform, but he found that it was impossible to realise them without establishing permanent order and without removing the principal factors of disturbance which had gained strength in the previous reigns.

The Muslim nobility had been allowed to become strong by the neglect of the Sultans in scrutinising their affairs. They were disaffected and they plotted against the state in their social gatherings. The Hindu chiefs, never fully submissive, had grown prosperous and defiant during the weak and mild rule of Alauddin's predecessors, and wealth and power made them endeavour again to oppose the central authority.

In 1302 Alauddin issued several ordinances against both. He confiscated all the religious endowments given to the Muslims, all the lands held as free gifts or as private property, and he

ordered the collectors to realise the full amount of revenue. He established a body of spies who reported to the king everything that happened in the houses of the Muslim nobility. He prohibited wine parties, and ordered that no social gatherings and marriages should take place without his permission.

Against the Hindu chiefs, his decrees were even more severe. He reduced their income by fixing the share of the state at one-half of the produce of land, by abolishing their perquisites, and by levying a tax on grazing lands. Thus the chiefs were impoverished and the surplus income came into the royal treasury. Deprived of their income the chiefs were unable to keep horses, or acquire arms, or enjoy luxuries.

These measures achieved the object in view, and during the remainder of his reign there was no serious internal revolt.

II. 1302-7. The task of establishing order and security within the kingdom was now complete and the Sultan turned his attention to the external foes of the kingdom. The Mongols had invaded India several times already during his reign. In 1302, while the Sultan's armies were engaged in Mewar and the Deccan, they appeared in India again, and swiftly overran the Punjab and laid siege to Delhi, but they retired from India suddenly. Their repeated invasions, however, made it necessary to devise methods to save India from their menace.

Plans for increasing the strength of the army were drawn up, but the difficulty was how to pay the additional troops without increasing greatly the expenses of the state. The difficulty was overcome by fixing the salary of the soldiers at a low figure, and at the same time regulating the prices of necessities of life so as to make them cheap. Accordingly regulations were made in 1309 by which the prices of the articles of food and other necessities were fixed. Methods were adopted to maintain a constant and abundant supply of them, and officers were appointed to superintend the markets in order to prevent dishonest dealings on the part of the merchants. Not much hardship was caused by the regulations because high prices ruled only in Delhi and its suburbs.

These measures enabled the Sultan to maintain a large standing army which challenged the Mongols whenever they crossed the Indian frontier, punished them and drove them across the Indus. After this the Mongols did not venture to invade India during Alauddin's reign.

In 1302 Alauddin returned to Mewar, captured Chitor and carried Rana Ratan Singh a prisoner to Delhi. By 1305 the

cities of Ujjain, Mandu, Dhar, and Chanderi were conquered and Malwa was annexed. Thus the whole of Northern India was brought under the sway of the Delhi empire.

III. 1307-13. The affairs of the Deccan now demanded Alauddin's attention. There were four important kingdoms in India, south of the Vindhya. The Yadava kingdom, with its capital Devagiri, occupied the western half of the Deccan; the Kakatiya kingdom, with Warangal as its capital, occupied the eastern half; the Hoysalas occupied the territories to the south of the Krishna river, with their capital at Dvarasamudra; and in the extreme south was the kingdom of the Pandyas, who had reduced the Cholas to a position of subordination.

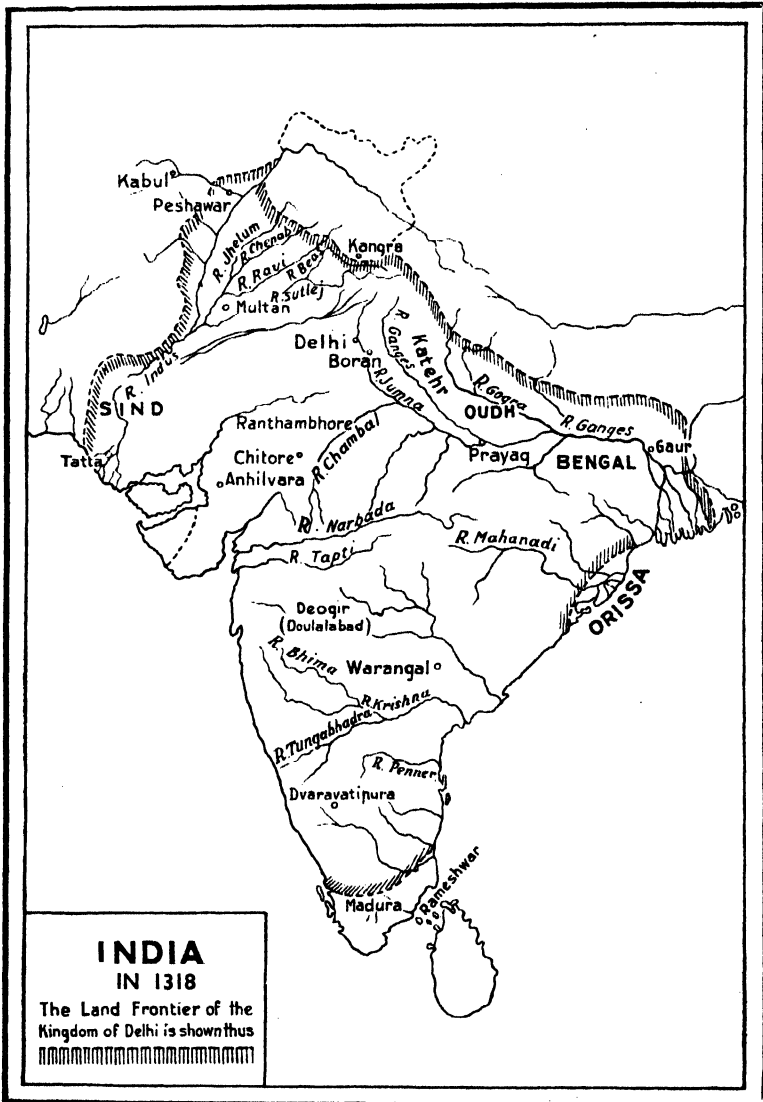
The Yadavas had agreed to pay tribute in 1294, but had failed to remit it for some years, and had given refuge to Raja Karan who had fled from Gujarat when the Delhi armies invaded it in 1298. Malik Kafur was entrusted with the command of the expedition. He laid waste the country and obliged Ramachandra to sue for peace. On the death of Ramachandra, his son, Shankar, became the ruler, but he defied the imperial authority. Malik Kafur attacked Devagiri, put Shankar to death and annexed the Yadava territories.

In 1308 Malik Kafur was sent to Telingana, the kingdom of the Kakatiyas. Raja Pratap Deva shut himself up in the fort of Warangal, but after a long siege submitted, offered his treasures and agreed to pay tribute. He was allowed to retain his kingdom as a feudatory of the empire.

Soon after, Malik Kafur returned to the south to subdue the Hoysala kingdom. He marched from Devagiri to Dvarasamudra (Halebid in Mysore State). Vira Ballala, the Raja, was captured in the attack upon the capital, and much booty fell into the hands of Kafur. The Hoysalas became vassals of the Sultan of Delhi.

From Dvarasamudra, Kafur proceeded further south, and entered the Pandya kingdom in response to the appeal of one of the Pandya princes who was fighting his brother for the throne. Malik Kafur plundered Srirangam and Madura, and defeated both the brothers. He returned to Delhi in 1311, laden with immense spoils which he had seized in the south.

The effect of Malik Kafur's expeditions in the Deccan and the south was that the kingdom of Devagiri was annexed, and the kingdoms of the Kakatiyas and the Hoysalas became tributary to the Delhi empire. Alauddin's empire thus comprised the whole



country from Multan to Madura, and from Sonargaon to Thatta and Broach. Delhi was its centre. Immediately round Delhi were provinces where Alauddin's government had brought the people directly into relations with his officers. Here the policy as laid down in the ordinances was fully carried out and authority was centralised. But in the outlying provinces the old system continued.

IV. 1313–16. The last years of Alauddin were unhappy. Malik Kafur, who was his favourite, had been made his chief lieutenant. He intrigued against Khizr Khan, the eldest son of the Sultan, and brought about his imprisonment. He also disgraced other noblemen, and these tyrannical acts produced much discontent. Rebellions broke out in the provinces, and the Sultan, whose health had been failing for some time, was unable to bear the shock of these events. He fell seriously ill and died in 1316.

Alauddin's Character.—Alauddin was a most remarkable ruler. He combined in himself the qualities of a bold and adventurous soldier, a stern and resolute administrator and an unscrupulous but clear-headed statesman. His expedition to Devagiri was a marvellous undertaking which showed great leadership. The measures taken to suppress internal disorders and to maintain a standing army were statesmanlike, and they were executed with determination. But in dealing with his enemies or with rebels, his ferocity knew no bounds, and in the attainment of his objects he was ruthless, and cared neither for friends nor relations. His memory will ever remain stained with the blood of his gentle and unsuspecting uncle.

His policy was not determined by religious laws and injunctions, for he paid little heed to the advice of priests. He was a practical ruler whose conduct was guided by the circumstances of the times and the needs of the situation.

This is well borne out by his reported conversation with Qazi Mughisuddin. He told him, 'To prevent rebellion, in which thousands perish, I issue such orders as I conceive to be for the good of the State, and the benefit of the people. Men are heedless, disrespectful, and disobey my commands; I am then compelled to be severe to bring them into obedience. I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful; whatever I think to be for the good of the State, or suitable for the emergency, that I decree.' Alauddin's administration was directed towards making the central government strong, and often he took stern measures to suppress rebellions of the nobles who would otherwise have struck at the very root of central authority.

He based his power on a strong army and the repression of the disruptive tendencies of the nobility. For the latter purpose, he instituted a well organised system of espionage and the nobles were forbidden to have social gatherings without his permission. Wine drinking and the use of dice were strictly prohibited. The

nobles could not even talk freely for fear of being reported to the Sultan. This helped in the prevention of conspiracies and rebellions.

He also realised that a strong army devoted to him and under his command was essential for the maintenance of the system of government which he established. A standing army was an expensive affair. Hence he fixed the pay of the soldier at 234 tankas. But prices were rising, and so, instead of raising the salary of the soldier, he regulated the market and fixed the prices of commodities in the capital. Prices of all necessities of life were prescribed and steps were taken to regulate supplies in the market. This enabled the soldier and the common man to live on his moderate income. Grain was taken in lieu of land rent, and it was stored in the royal granaries in Delhi. Private trading in grain was penalised. Officers were appointed to control the markets. Merchants were registered. Severe punishments were inflicted on those who violated the Sultan's regulations. This system worked in an emergency when owing to an influx of wealth from the south the value of money had gone down.

Alauddin was fond of architecture, and among the monuments of his reign are the mosque at the Dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya (at Delhi), and the Alai Gate at the Qutub Mosque. His court was attended by many literary men, among whom the most famous was Amir Khusrau, who wrote not only in Persian but also in Hindi.

Alauddin's Successors.—On the death of Alauddin, Malik Kafur imprisoned his sons and raised a child to the throne. But the other nobles slew Kafur and proclaimed Mubarak king. Mubarak undid the work of his father and revoked his measures. He took steps to quell the revolts in the provinces, and finally annexed and colonised Devagiri in 1318. But conspiracies were started against him, and he suppressed them with great bloodshed. He became addicted to vice, and his trusted favourite, Khusrau Khan, treacherously murdered him. Khusrau now assumed the reins of government, but his behaviour alienated everyone. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, who was governor of Multan, then advanced upon Delhi, defeated Khusrau's forces and put him to death.

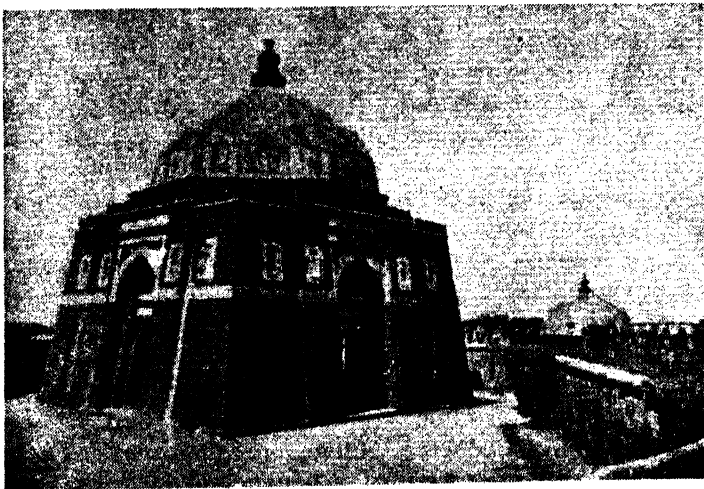
1. (e) The Tughluqs, 1320–1415

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah was an old man when he came to the throne. But he was a strong and capable ruler, and within

a short time he restored peace and order in the kingdom. He enforced again the good laws of Alauddin, and undertook measures to encourage agriculture. For example, he dug canals to extend the area under cultivation, and he fixed low rates of land tax so as to give relief to cultivators and to encourage them to bring waste lands under the plough. The tax on Hindu chiefs and landlords was, however, kept high, and they were not allowed to grow wealthy. The postal system was perfected. Horsemen and runners were posted at short distances along the roads to carry letters with as much speed as possible from one stage to the next.

The replacement of the old dynasty by a new ruler led, as usual, to troubles in the distant provinces of the empire. The Kakatiya Raja of Warangal repudiated the authority of the Sultan, and Tughluq Shah sent his son Muhammad to subjugate him. Muhammad marched to Warangal but the evil counsels of his favourites led him to form designs of assuming the royal authority. The chief nobles, however, turned against him, and the Hindus compelled him to retire. He returned to Delhi and begged forgiveness of his father, who allowed him to lead another expedition to Warangal. The Raja was then forced to surrender and the kingdom of Telingana was again made subject to Delhi.

In Bengal the descendants of Balban ruled the country, owing



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Tomb of Tughluq Shah.

little allegiance to Delhi. A civil conflict broke out among them, and Tughluq Shah took advantage of it to interfere in their affairs. He proceeded to Bengal in person. Lakhnauti surrendered and Sonargaon and Satgaon were occupied. Governors were appointed over the territories, and the Sultan returned to Delhi. On the way back to the capital he advanced to Tirhut (north Bihar). The Raja took refuge in flight and Tirhut passed under his rule.

Meanwhile, Prince Muhammad, who had returned from the Deccan, was making preparations for the reception of his father. When Tughluq Shah returned from Bengal, the son received him in a specially built pavillion a few miles outside Delhi. The building fell down upon the old king and killed him, and Muhammad Tughluq ascended the throne in 1325.

Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah, 1325-51.—Muhammad bin Tughluq inherited from his father an extensive empire. Almost from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean and from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal acknowledged his suzerainty. The only exceptions were Kashmir in the north, Kabul and Afghanistan in the north-west, and some small principalities on the western coast like Cannanore and Calicut, but they also recognized the paramountcy of the Delhi Sultanate.

The vast area of the empire had been mainly acquired within the last twentyfive years. It had not enjoyed the benefits of a well organised and centralised administration for long and was in an unstable condition. The ambitions of the Hindu chiefs to recover their independence and of the Muslim officials to become autonomous, added to the difficulties of the central government in the maintenance of peace and order.

Muhammad was an extraordinary man, a man of novel and advanced ideas. Even as the Crown Prince he was known for his liberal views on religion, and a section of the *Ulama*, Muslim jurists and scholars, were opposed to his ways of thinking. As the chronicles of the reign were composed by them, they tended to exaggerate the failures of his administration and the misfortunes of the times and to ascribe them to defects in his character.

Then in medieval times suspicions were easily roused between father and son and some nobles were interested in inciting misunderstandings between them. Muhammad Tughluq's successes in wars and his policy of leniency towards the defeated enemies gave occasion to create doubts about his intentions.

Another reason for hostility towards Muhammad was that his

administrative measures were harsh and were disliked by both his officials and the subjects affected by them.

The situation on the north-western frontier added to the alarms of the country. Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan were in turmoil whose effects were felt in India.

With these factors were combined the distress inflicted by nature, for during the fourteenth century the world suffered from climatic stress, some parts experienced unusual cold and rainfall and others drought. The crisis was reached sometime in the second quarter of the century, and for seven consecutive years northern India suffered scarcity of rain and failure of crops.

The temper of Muhammad Tughluq was excitable and he could not bear any opposition. He was impatient, obstinate and cruel.

His reign was full of stresses and strains. Rebellions were frequent and many of his measures proved unsuccessful. The result was the empire was weakened and many parts became independent. But during the first ten years (1325–35), Muhammad Tughluq overcame his difficulties with some success. The next seven years (1335–42) were full of disasters which shook the foundations of his power, and the last years (1342–51) were characterised by defeat and humiliation.

The First Period, 1325–35

(a) **Administrative Measures, 1325–35.**—Since the death of Alauddin Khalji the revenue system had fallen into decay. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq partly revived it, but he had to make changes in order to relieve the peasants from crop failures. He gave up the method of fixing the revenue demand of the state on the basis of the measurement of land, and introduced the method of sharing the actual produce. He also began to require that the governors should pay into the state treasury not the actual land-tax realised, but a fixed sum which was stipulated between the revenue ministry and the governor. Then, again, he modified the policy of Alauddin towards the Hindu chiefs and headmen. He allowed them to collect their perquisites, and did not tax their income from pasture lands.

Muhammad's attention was early directed to these matters. It is likely that the revenue had been affected by the adverse conditions of nature and the mild policy of his father. In any case he desired to enhance it. He therefore introduced the same method of revenue collection in the outlying provinces of the

empire as existed in the midland provinces round Delhi. The provincial land-tax was farmed out to the governors, the intermediary chiefs were replaced, and in the central provinces new cesses were introduced. The effect was a sudden and a large increase in the revenues of the Sultan, which he lavished in gifts to foreigners and favourites.

But the measures were unpopular, and soon resentment arose against him. Some of the revenue farmers were cheats and did not pay the stipulated amounts into the treasury, and then rebelled. The central provinces groaned under heavy taxation, and the lands began to fall out of cultivation. The process was intensified by the failure of the rains.

At this juncture, the Sultan determined to transfer the capital to Devagiri, which he named Daulatabad. Devagiri was more central than Delhi for administering the newly acquired territories of the South. Though the danger of the Mongol invasions in the north had greatly diminished, the kingdoms of the Deccan and the south had been recently conquered and needed closer attention. The evacuation of Delhi, however, abolished the market for the produce of the Doab, and further ruined the cultivators. When, after some years, the Sultan realised his mistake, he came back to the old capital. Delhi, however, did not regain its old prosperity for many years.

The country round Delhi and in the Doab was goaded into rebellion by heavy taxation. Muhammad treated the inhabitants as enemies and inflicted severe punishments upon them. But when these failed to bring about peace, he attempted to undo the evil by introducing improvements in the land. A new department was set up to effect these. Wells were dug and advances of money were made. But the measures were too late, as the rains failed for seven years in succession.

About the same time that the capital was transferred, the Sultan attempted to reform the monetary system of India. Coins of gold, silver and copper formed the Indian currency. So long as the ratio between the values of these remained constant, there was security in trade and economic transactions. But changes produced confusion. At this time the conquest of the Deccan had greatly increased the amount of gold in the north, and therefore disturbed the ratio between gold and silver. In order to restore the balance and to increase the amount of currency, the Sultan ordered that token coins of copper and brass should be struck, and that these should represent the value of silver

coins of the same weight and pass for them. This necessary and useful measure, however, failed because the token coins could be manufactured by everyone, and care was not taken that they should be struck by the mints of the state only.

(b) **Expeditions, 1325-35.**—The first rebellion of the reign, headed by Bahauddin Gurhasp, the first cousin of the emperor, took place in 1326-27 in the Deccan. But he was defeated and executed. Then in the next year Kishlu Khan who was the governor of Multan and Sindh rose in revolt. He was captured and beheaded.

There were other uprisings in Sindh but they were suppressed without difficulty. A rebellion by the governor of Bengal, Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, met with the same fate. The risings of the disaffected officials were quelled, and it was necessary to turn attention to the events on the north-western frontier. There were two powerful Mongol States—one in Transoxiana (Central Asia) and the other in Iran. They were enemies of each other. In the hostilities the ruler of Transoxiana, Tarmashirin, was defeated. He fled to India and Muhammad Tughluq helped him. Subsequently Muhammad raised a large army to invade Khorasan which was a part of the Iranian empire. Later, on hearing of the death of Tarmashirin, he abandoned the expedition and dispersed the troops.

Next the Sultan had to attend to the northern Himalayan border where the Rajput princes ruled. Behind them were the states of Tibet and China. In order to stabilize the position of the empire an army was sent to the Himalayan mountains in the region of Qarachil (Kumaon). Unfortunately rains and disease decimated the army and the expedition failed.

The Second Period, 1335-42

The Famine of 1335-42.—But more serious was the insurrection of the landholders and peasants in the Doab. Several factors were responsible for the disturbances. Among them the land revenue policy was one. The failure of rains another. Again the disbandment of the army recruited for the invasion of Khorasan had let loose a large number of soldiers who were without employment. These causes led to discontent and unrest. At first the Sultan adopted very harsh measures to deal with the rebels. He pursued the refractory zamindars across the Doab and treated them mercilessly. But the troubles did not end. The continued scarcity of the rains affected not only the

Gangetic Doab and Delhi, but also other provinces like Malwa. The severity of the Sultan towards his subjects made the conditions worse. When, therefore, he changed his policy, it failed to benefit the people. He was forced to move the hungry populace to a new town, which he built on the Ganga about 150 miles from Delhi, in 1336, and which he named *Swargdvara* (the gate of heaven). The people were fed from the produce of Oudh which was not much affected by famine.

But the general failure of the rains in the north diminished cultivation and the revenues of the state. The king was unable to organise expeditions to suppress sedition, and disorder and rebellion broke out in the provinces.

A campaign in the Himalayas against the hill chieftains succeeded in making them pay tribute, but the army was wiped out. The governor of Oudh revolted in 1341, but was defeated and degraded. In 1342 trouble arose in Sindh and the Sultan marched there and quelled it.

The disturbances in the Doab were not over when the governor of the southern province of Mabar (Madura, Coromandel Coast) Sayyid Ahsan Shah rebelled in 1334 and established an independent Sultanate. Other rebellions followed. The one in the Punjab (1335) was quelled by the Wazir Khwaja Jahan. But the next in Telingana (Warangal) and Kampila led by the Hindu chiefs succeeded and these territories were lost to the empire. In the freed territories the kingdom of Vijayanagar was founded in 1336 by Narihara the first occupant of the throne.

Then an officer of the governor of Bengal killed his master and usurped the government. Both eastern and western Bengal passed out of the empire between 1338 and 1341.

Troubles also occurred in the Punjab round Sirhind, in Oudh and Kara and in the Deccan at Bidar and Gulbarga.

The Third Period, 1342-51

The Last Years.—A number of causes combined to bring about the disasters of the last years of the reign. The decline in the revenues of the empire was one. The harshness of the Sultan against the revenue collectors, who were in many cases rapacious farmers, was another. The immigration and settlement of Mongols and other foreign nobles in the provinces was a third cause of disorder. These noblemen, attracted by the gifts of the Sultan, had come to India with their families and followers, and were appointed to various commands and given assignments of

land. Many of them turned unfaithful, became leaders of insurrections, and had to be severely punished. Then the state of general discontent and disturbance encouraged the Hindu chiefs and Muslim governors to assert their independence.

In the Deccan, disintegration had begun with the revolt of Mabbar. In 1344, Krishna Kakatiya organised a confederacy, and the provinces of Kambala, Warangal and Dvarasamudra shook off the yoke of the empire. In 1346, Vijayanagar became the centre of a powerful southern state. The province of Daulatabad was next affected. The foreign nobles of Malwa and Gujarat had taken up arms against the empire, but driven from these provinces they took shelter with their relations in the Deccan. They joined together and seized the fort of Daulatabad. The Sultan was unable to crush them, for when he advanced against them a revolt broke out in Gujarat. In 1347, Hasan Gangu was elected by them as their king. He assumed the title of Bahman Shah and laid the foundation of the Bahmani dynasty. The whole of the Deccan was thus lost.

The rebellion in Gujarat and Kathiawar took three years (1347–50) to settle and then the Sultan proceeded to Sindh with contingents collected from these provinces to punish the governor who had sheltered the rebel chief of Gujarat. While on his way to Thatta, Muhammad fell ill and died in 1351.

The Traveller, Ibn Batuta.—During the reign of Muhammad Ibn Batuta, a native of Tangier in northern Africa, visited India. He remained in India from 1333 to 1342. He was received by the Sultan with great honour and appointed the chief Qazi of Delhi. He has left an interesting account of the country, its king and peoples.

Firoz Tughluq, 1351–88.—Firoz was the son of Rajab, brother of Sultan Ghiyasuddin. His mother, a charming Rajput princess, belonged to the Bhatti tribe. Sultan Muhammad had advanced Firoz to high office and marked him out as his successor. When, therefore, Muhammad died, Firoz was proclaimed king. The devout and studious Firoz was entirely under the influence of learned theologians. He tried to rule the country in accordance with the wishes of these bigots. For the first time in the history of Muslim rule in India, measures based upon religious bigotry were enforced. The poll-tax (*jaziya*) was levied upon the Brahmanas, newly built temples were demolished, and conversions were encouraged. Decrees for regulating the dress, food, and adornments of the Muslims were proclaimed. Apart

from religious bigotry, however, the king was a mild, humane, and pleasure-loving ruler; he was weak and irresolute, devoid of ambition for conquest and glory, and lacked stern and martial qualities. He desired, however, the welfare of his people. He worked for their prosperity and health. He dug canals and built hospitals, schools and rest-houses. He was fond of laying out gardens and cities and erecting fine buildings.

Firoz ruled over an empire reduced by the independence of the Deccan and Bengal. He made no attempt to obtain control over the Deccan, even when his intervention was sought by the Bahmanis. He tried twice to bring Bengal under his sway. The first expedition was led by him in 1353-54; it penetrated through Bengal to Ikhdala, but failed. The second expedition of 1359-60 also did not meet with success, but on the return march the army invaded Orissa and sacked the town of Puri.

His conquest of Nagarkot in 1361 is interesting, because he obtained a number of Sanskrit books which were translated by his order into the Persian language.

His campaigns in Sindh (1362-64) showed lack of military skill, for although he started with a large army he was forced to retreat. Only after the army had been greatly reinforced was he able to secure the submission of the ruler of Thatta.

The only other military exploits of Firoz were harassment of Katchar (Rohilkhand) and the forcible realisation of revenue in Etawah, where the Hindu chiefs had refused payment. For five successive years (1377-82) the district of Katchar was punished by the royal troops led by the Sultan in person.

The administration of Sultan Firoz was inspired by three aims—reverence for religious injunctions, necessity to placate the nobles, and desire to better the condition of the people.

Religious considerations influenced his dealings with the Hindus and non-Sunni Muslim sects. They also influenced his scheme of taxation, the administration of justice and poor relief, and the patronage of learning. He imposed the poll-tax on Brahmanas and persecuted the Shiahhs and other sects. He abolished numerous taxes, and levied only those sanctioned by religion. He dispensed strict justice and forbade the use of torture in criminal cases. He made arrangements to give employment to the poor and aid for the marriage of poor Muslim girls.

The Sultan had ascended the throne with the help of the military commanders and noblemen. He regarded it as his duty to keep them pleased. The system of assigning lands to troopers

and officers, which Alauddin had deprecated, was greatly extended in his reign. The salaries of officers and soldiers were fixed on a very liberal scale, and payment was not made from the treasury, but by assignments of land revenue, equal in amount to the salary. Thus the greater part of the empire was divided amongst assignment-holders (*jagirdars*).

To please them further the audit of the income and expenditure of the officers, which the revenue ministry used to hold at the capital every year, was relaxed; and other favours were shown to them. The effect of these measures was that the *jagirdars* tended to become hereditary owners of fiefs, and the authority of the state was seriously limited. This affected the army, too, for laxity of audit and inspection led to evil practices which reduced the strength and efficiency of the troops.

It was partly to remove this evil that Firoz attempted to organise an army of slaves wholly dependent upon the Sultan and forming his bodyguard. Their numbers, however, grew so large that the state could not bear the expense; and they had to be suppressed by his successors.

Firoz had a genuine regard for the peasantry. Their happiness largely depended upon the administration of land revenue. In the last reign the high demands of the state and drought had produced great disorder. The collection of revenue was placed in the hands of farmers who did not care for the well-being of the cultivators, and were anxious only for their own profits. The central provinces were, therefore, depopulated and tillage had shrunk. Firoz changed all this. The governors and other officers and the Hindu chiefs continued to collect the revenue, but they were treated with consideration and remained friendly. In their turn they did not oppress the peasantry. The policy of Firoz was to encourage the peasant to improve his crops and to extend cultivation. His mildness in the matter of the collection of land-tax and the abolition of vexatious cesses had the desired effect. He helped actively in carrying out the policy by constructing irrigation works. He dug four canals from the Sutlej and Jamuna rivers which brought fertility to the lands through which they passed.

The Sultan had a passion for building edifices, laying out gardens and planning towns. His memory is kept alive by the towns of Jaunpur, Fatehabad, Hissar and Firuzabad, and the monuments in Delhi.

The later Tughluqs, 1388-1413.—On the death of Firoz

Shah, a civil war broke out between his son and grandsons. After some fighting Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah occupied Delhi and ascended the throne. His reign lasted four years (1390–94). During this period rebellions broke out on all sides, and the royal power sank low.

He was succeeded by Mahmud Shah Tughluq, who was a



minor. He was the last king of the dynasty, and was weak and incompetent. The nobles paid no heed to the orders of the State, the Hindu chiefs threw off all obedience, and the governors of provinces established themselves as independent rulers.

The disintegration of the empire gave opportunity to Timur, the Amir of Central Asia, to invade India. He started on his expedition from his capital, Samarkand, in the summer of 1398, and marched through Afghanistan to the Indus after the rains. He crossed the Indus without opposition and overran the Punjab. In mid-winter he arrived at the outskirts of Delhi. Mahmud, who offered battle on the plain outside the city, was defeated, and his army fled in wild disorder. He took refuge in Gujarat. Timur entered Delhi, which was pillaged and sacked by his troops. After plundering and slaughtering the inhabitants of Delhi, Timur returned to his country by way of Meerut, Hardwar, Jammu and Bannu.

The shock of the invasion threw the country into complete anarchy, and the Tughluq empire, which was already on the decline, dissolved. Mahmud, who had fled to Gujarat, now returned to the capital, but he was merely a puppet in the hands of the nobles. After a nominal reign of twenty years, he died in 1413. With his death the rule of the Turkish Sultans of Delhi came to an end.

Causes of the Downfall of the Tughluq Empire.—The Delhi Sultanate of the Middle Age was established by the conquests of adventurous princes. The size of the empire was vast and the means of communication and transport within it primitive. It was, therefore, necessary to divide the empire into provinces which were governed by officers who exercised almost the same authority as the king himself. In such circumstances, the condition for the maintenance of the solidarity of the empire was that the governors wielding such great powers should be thoroughly loyal to the central authority and zealous in their devotion to the interests of the state; also that the king should be vigilant in keeping watch over the actions of his commanders, and capable and prompt in taking steps to stamp out any signs of disobedience. Whenever, therefore, the sceptre fell into weak hands, or the governors became rebellious, the decline of the state set in.

The only consideration which kept the great officers loyal to the state were those of personal and family relationship. The bonds of race, religion and territory were weak. The fact that officers belonged to the same race, or originated from the same

country, or followed the same religion as the king, did not deter them from rebelling against their lord, if they felt aggrieved or found an opportunity to rebel.

The empire was maintained by the special corps of officers which the king organised and which was personally loyal to him. Such were the Shamsi and Balbani officers of the early kings.

The Khalji kings destroyed the power of these Turkish officers and raised Khalji officers to power. The Tughluqs, in their turn, disbanded the Khalji officers. Muhammad Tughluq tried to enlist foreigners in their place, but they proved faithless and brought disaster to the kingdom. Firoz depended upon the converts. His most trusted lieutenants were Khan Jahan Maqbool and his son, who were Hindus from Telingana who had accepted Islam. He also sought to strengthen his authority by collecting an army of slaves. Neither the converts nor the slaves proved a bulwark of the empire, and the result of their general employment was that the state became weak at the centre.

A second cause of the decline of the Tughluq empire was that India suffered in the reign of Muhammad from natural misfortunes and the experiments of the Sultan. A number of provinces broke away from the empire. Its resources were diminished, and Firoz was unable to re-assert his power over the lost territories. His weak and worthless successors, whose reigns were distracted by civil wars, gave further impetus to the tendencies of disintegration.

In the third place the measures of Firoz led directly to the weakening of the state. The extension of the Jagir system reduced the revenues of the kingdom, diminished the control of the state over the nobility, and stimulated their desire for autonomy. The policy of securing conversions by means of material rewards encouraged the advancement of selfish men who cared little for the interests of the state. The growth of slave organisation led to the exhaustion of the royal resources and to tumults in the capital.

Lastly, it must be remembered that India was a vast country inhabited by peoples among whom there was little social solidarity, and it was impossible to expect a unified state to be built upon foundations which were so diverse. In the Middle Age the peoples were gradually evolving provincial societies. They were not yet conscious of their territorial unity, but they possessed provincial languages which were becoming the media of expression of religious and literary sentiments. Sanskrit might be the language

of the learned and Persian, the language of the Court, but the languages of the people were Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Telugu, Tamil, etc. The result of this movement was that the unifying tendency remained weak and provincialism flourished.

The Tughluq empire, distracted by internal dissensions, lost its coherence as a result of the invasion of Timur, and it was not till after nearly a century and a half that a descendant of Timur started again the process of the unification of India. The history of these years is a narrative of the doings of the dynasties which established themselves in the provinces on the ruins of the Tughluq empire.

1. (f) The Provincial Kingdoms, A.D. 1413–1526

The Kingdom of Delhi

The Sayyids, 1413–51.—On the extinction of the Tughluq dynasty, Khizr Khan, who was the governor of Multan at the time of Timur's invasion and who had been appointed by him as governor of Lahore, occupied Delhi. His authority did not extend much beyond the environs of Delhi, and he spent most of his time in fighting with his neighbours. His son, Mubarak Shah, ruled from 1421 to 1434, when he was assassinated at the instigation of his Wazir. Prince Muhammad, a grandson of Khizr Khan, was then raised to the throne, but his authority was even more circumscribed than that of his predecessors, for many of his noblemen had shaken off their allegiance. After his death in 1444, Bahlol Lodi, the governor of Lahore, seized Delhi from his incompetent son in 1451, and brought to an end the rule of the Sayyid dynasty in Delhi.

The Lodis, 1451–1526.—Bahlol Lodi was a strong and vigorous ruler who succeeded in re-asserting the power of Delhi over the Jagirdars and Rajas of the Doab and Mewat. His advance was resisted by the Sharqi king of Jaunpur, and Bahlol waged many wars against him, till in 1478 he succeeded in capturing Jaunpur and in driving the Sharqi king into exile.

On his death his son, Sikandar, ascended the throne in 1489. He was capable, and a strong but bigoted king. He had to be constantly on the march to put down the rebellions of the feudatory Afghan noblemen, who were rough and haughty. It was a difficult task to keep them under subjection. The Hindu chiefs of Etawah, Gwalior and Chanderi also gave a lot of trouble, and much of the Sultan's time was occupied in campaigns against

them. By the conquest of Jaunpur the boundary of the Delhi kingdom touched Bengal, and Sikandar made a treaty with the king of Bengal to secure his eastern frontier.

Sikandar founded the city of Agra and made it his capital. He died in 1517, and his son Ibrahim Lodi, succeeded him. His uncle, Jalal Khan, challenged his accession, and the quarrel between the nephew and uncle distracted the kingdom. Ibrahim had a suspicious disposition and arrogant manners, which antagonised the Afghan nobles. The governors of Bihar, Ghazipur and the Punjab turned against him and raised the standard of revolt. Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of Lahore, invited Babur, the king of Kabul, to invade India. In 1524 Babur crossed the Indus and advanced upon Lahore, in order to overthrow Ibrahim and place his uncle, Jalal Khan, on the throne. But affairs in Afghanistan did not allow him to proceed further, and he returned to Kabul. In 1525, he came back to Lahore, forced Daulat Khan to submit, and marched upon Delhi. Ibrahim advanced to Panipat to meet the invader but suffered a complete defeat and was killed in battle (1526). The rule of the Lodi dynasty came to an end, and a new era in the history of India began.

The Provincial Kingdoms.—Although after the decline of the Tughluqs the unity of the Delhi empire was lost, the establishment of provincial kingdoms saved the greater part of India from becoming a prey to anarchy. These kingdoms not only maintained order in the different provinces of India, but they became centres of enlightenment and culture, and they encouraged the growth of provincial unity which found its expression in art, language and literature.

Among these kingdoms the important ones in the north were Bengal, Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat and Kashmir. Besides these, the Rajput princes had re-asserted their power and established principalities in the Himalayan region, Rajputana and Central India. In the Deccan, the Bahmani kingdom, and in the south, the kingdom of Vijayanagar flourished during this period.

Bengal.—During the last years of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign, one of the Muslim officers, Alauddin Alishah (1339–1345), made himself the independent chief of Bengal and transferred his capital from Lakhnauti to Pandu. He was murdered in 1345, at the instigation of Shamsuddin Iliyas, his foster-brother. He ruled over Bengal under the title of Shamsuddin Iliyas Shah, and proved a threat to the Delhi empire. Firoz Tughluq, there-

fore, attempted to bring him under subjection, but without success. He died in 1357.

During the reign of one of his successors, Ghiyasuddin Hamza Shah, the ruler's authority was disputed by the Raja of Dinajpur. The next king of note, Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah (1442–60), rebuilt the old capital of Gaur. His successors had tumultuous reigns, and a new dynasty was founded by Alauddin Husain Shah in 1493. He proved to be one of the greatest and most popular of the Muslim kings of Bengal.

Husain Shah established order in the kingdom, and led a successful expedition into Assam, although he failed to subjugate it permanently. His son, Nusrat Shah, conquered Tirhut. In his time Babur invaded India and the Portuguese appeared in Bengal. He was murdered in 1533.

Five years later Sher Shah conquered Bengal, and the Afghans held it till it was conquered by Akbar.

The Muslim kings of Bengal were enlightened rulers. They were great patrons of art and literature, and it was through their encouragement that the Bengali language was elevated to literary status. Under their patronage many great Sanskrit works were rendered into Bengali. Nusrat Shah ordered the translation of the *Mahabharata*. The *Ramayana* was translated by the poet Krittivasa. Husain Shah employed Maladhar Vasu to translate the *Bhagvata*, and Vidyapati dedicated some of his poems to Nusrat Shah. The Bengal kings were great builders too. Their most famous monuments are the mosques at Pandu and at Gaur.

The Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur.—One Malik Sarwar founded the kingdom of Jaunpur in 1394. He established his authority over Oudh, over the Gangetic Doab as far west as Koil, and in the east over Tirhut and Bihar. On his death in 1399, Mubarak Shah ascended the throne. During his reign the Delhi Sultans made unsuccessful attempts to subjugate Jaunpur. His son, Ibrahim, was a great king. He annexed Sambhal, invaded Bengal and went to war with the king of Malwa for the annexation of Kalpi. His son, Mahmud, continued the war against Malwa, and began hostilities against the Lodis without much result. Mahmud's son, Muhammad, was a violent and capricious tyrant, and his own kinsmen and nobles rose against him and slew him. They raised his brother, Husain, to the throne.

Husain led a plundering expedition into Orissa, and after

returning from there attacked Gwalior, and then undertook the conquest of Delhi. In the war which followed with Bahlol, fortune turned against Husain. He suffered defeat, and his capital was occupied by the Lodi king in 1479. Husain fled into Bihar and died in exile. The kingdom of Jaunpur was annexed to Delhi.

Although the Sharqi kingdom lasted only about eighty years, Jaunpur attained a high degree of prosperity during the period. The kings erected a number of buildings, of which the mosques only have remained. Their architecture shows a pleasing combination of strength and refinement, and of the Hindu and Muslim ideas of art. Vidyapati bestowed high praise on the prosperity and wealth of the city, which, for its culture, earned the title of the Shiraz of the East.

Malwa.—After Timur's invasion Malwa became independent under Dilwar Khan. In 1406, his son, Hushang, ascended the throne. He waged many wars against the kingdom of Gujarat. Fortune, however, did not always favour him and he gained no advantage in the wars. He led an expedition into Orissa in 1422 in the disguise of a merchant and returned with a number of elephants. He came into conflict with the kings of Delhi, Jaunpur and the Deccan, but he maintained his dominion and power intact. He died in 1435, and was succeeded by his son, Ghazi Khan, as Muhammad Shah, who proved a careless ruler.

His minister, Mahmud Khan Khalji, seized the throne in 1436 and founded a dynasty which ruled for nearly a century. Mahmud was a great warrior and a capable and ambitious king. He aimed at the conquest of Delhi, Gujarat, Chitor and the Deccan. He gained some successes over Rana Kumbha and captured some Rajput fortresses, but he was unable to capture Chitor. His invasion of the Deccan proved disastrous, and his intervention in the affairs of Gujarat, Jaunpur and Delhi brought him no profit. Yet he acquired a high reputation, and his fame spread to distant lands. During his reign the Muslims and Hindus were happy and maintained friendly intercourse.

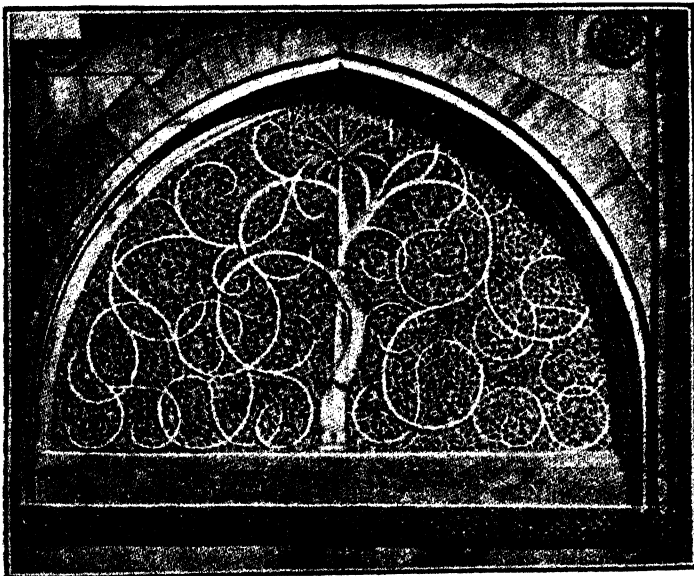
His successors ruled over Malwa in peace. In 1510 Mahmud II made himself king, with the help of Medini Rai, a Rajput chief. But the Rajput minister domineered over his master, and treated the Muslim officers with contempt. In order to get rid of him Mahmud asked the help of the king of Gujarat, who responded to the appeal, captured Mandu, the capital, and massacred the Rajputs. Medini Rai, however, sought the help of Rana Sangram

Singh of Chitor. The forces of Mahmud were defeated, and Mahmud himself became a prisoner. Although he was released, his authority was greatly reduced. Then Bahadur Shah, the king of Gujarat, declared war on him, annexed his territory in 1531, and put an end to the independent kingdom of Malwa.

The kings of Malwa adorned the two capitals of Dhar and Mandu with splendid buildings, the most noteworthy being the Jami Masjid, Hindola Mahal, Jahaz Mahal and the tomb of Hushang.

Gujarat.—Gujarat attained its independence when Muzaffar Shah, the governor, withdrew his allegiance in 1401, but the real founder of the kingdom was his grandson, Ahmed Shah, whose reign lasted for thirty years (1411–41). He was a successful ruler, who established his sway over the whole of Gujarat and defeated his neighbours—the Sultans of Malwa and the chiefs of Rajputana. He built the city of Ahmedabad.

His grandson, Sultan Mahmud Begara, was the most eminent king of Gujarat. He reigned from 1459 to 1511. He waged wars against the Ranas of Kathiawar and the Rajput chiefs. He interfered in the affairs of Malwa, Khandesh, Sindh, and the Deccan. Towards the close of his reign he came into conflict



Window of Sidi Sayyid's Mosque, Ahmedabad.

with the Portuguese who had established themselves on the western coast of India. He allied himself with the Sultan of Turkey, and the allied forces defeated the Portuguese. Later the Portuguese won a naval victory over the Muslim fleet and became masters of the Arabian Sea. Mahmud died after a glorious reign of fifty-two years.

On his death Muzaffar Shah II succeeded to the throne, and he helped Mahmud of Malwa to regain his authority from the Rajputs under Medini Rai.

The last king of Gujarat was Bahadur Shah (1526-37). He conquered Malwa in 1531, captured Chitor in 1533, and repulsed the attacks of the Portuguese on Diu. Gujarat was subjected to the invasion of Humayun in 1535, and two years later Bahadur Shah was drowned off Diu. The kingdom fell into a state of anarchy and was conquered by Akbar in 1572.

Gujarat was the home of a beautiful style of architecture in which the Hindu and the Muslim elements were exquisitely blended. The kings and noblemen erected wonderful mosques, stepped wells, tombs and palaces. These were adorned with stone lattices and other ornaments of the most delicate workmanship. Gujarat also acquired a great reputation for the crafts of weaving with silk, cotton and gold thread.

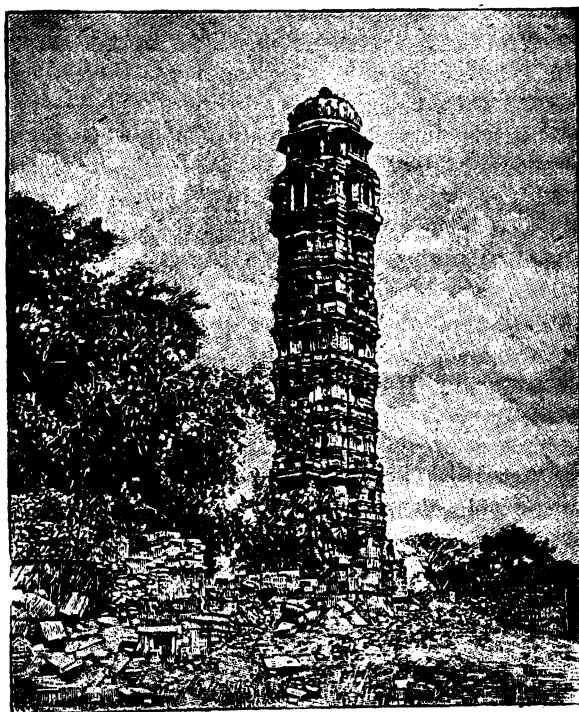
The Hindu Principalities of the North.—The conquest of India by the Turkish Sultans extinguished the leading principalities of the north. But petty Rajput chiefs, Rais and Rajas, who paid tribute to the Sultan of Delhi, continued to exist in large numbers throughout the period. Whenever the weakness of their rulers gave them an opportunity they withheld the tribute and asserted their independence. Such were the chiefs of Mewat, the Doab, Katehar (Rohilkhand), etc.

Besides these petty chiefs were two belts of territory where independent princes ruled. The first was the border region of the northern mountains, i.e., the region consisting of the sub-Himalayan hill states like Kangra, Almora, Nepal and Bhutan. Kashmir, which belongs to this region, had come under Muslim rule about the middle of the fourteenth century, but the other states maintained their independence throughout the Middle Age.

The second region was the dividing territory of the central uplands, stretching from the Aravalli hills on the west to Orissa in the east. The Rajput states situated in this region were never completely subdued, and they always offered resistance to the

Sultans of Delhi. Among these states the most important were the principalities of Rajputana, Bundelkhand, and Gondwana.

The Sisodias of Mewar.—The Sisodias of Mewar were a younger branch of the Guhilas who ruled over Mewar for over six centuries. In 1303, when Alauddin Khalji conquered Chitor, the senior branch of the Guhilas died out. In 1326, Hammirdev, who belonged to the younger branch and was the chief of the Sisodias, re-established the independence of Mewar, which his successors maintained. With Moka, the fourth ruler of Mewar, began the expansion of the Sisodia power. His successor Kumbha (1433–68) was a forceful ruler. He captured many forts and brought a number of Rajput chiefs under his sway. He waged wars against the kings of Malwa and Gujarat. In 1437, he defeated Mahmud Khalji of Malwa at Sarangpur, took him prisoner and laid siege to Mandu, his capital. Later, he generously released Mahmud, who tried to wipe out his disgrace by



Tower of Victory, Chitor.

leading a number of expeditions into Mewar, but without success. In 1457, the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat made a joint attack upon Mewar, which was repulsed.

Kumbha was an artist and poet. He wrote books on music and architecture and composed a number of dramas. He was also a great builder. He erected the famous Tower of Victory at Chitor to commemorate his victory over Mahmud Khalji. He was assassinated by his son, Udaya Karan, in 1468. But Udaya's act horrified the nobles, and they made his younger brother, Rayamal, king. Rayamal's sons quarrelled among themselves for the succession. Sangram Singh, known as Rana Sanga, ultimately came to the throne in 1509.

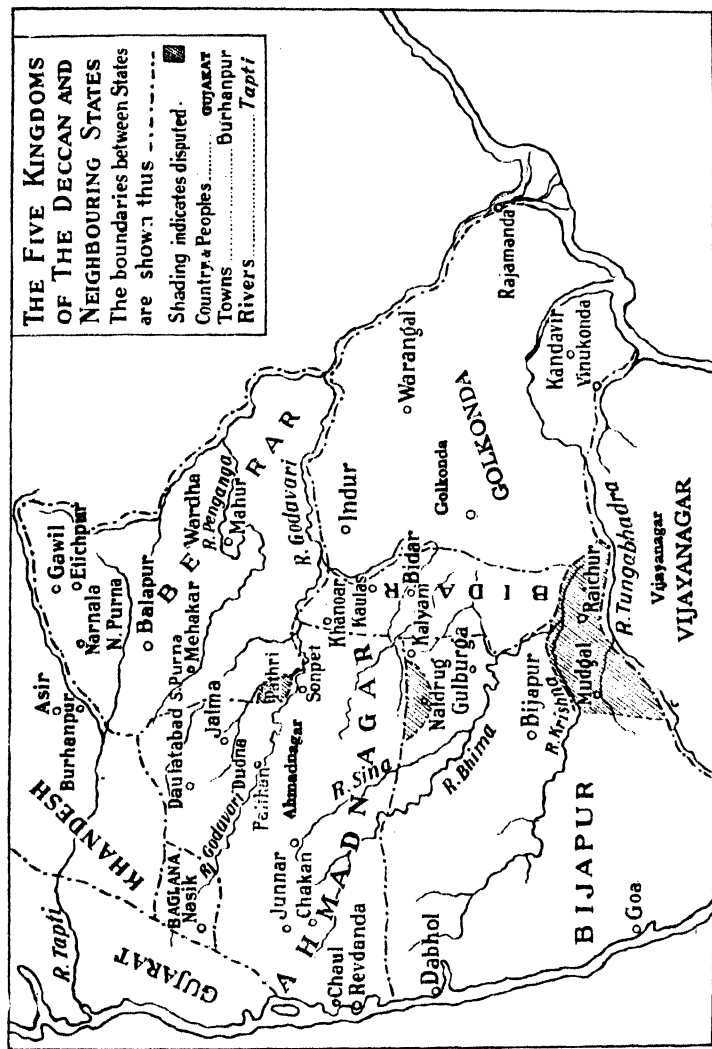
Sanga was the greatest ruler of his line. He was unexcelled as a warrior. He was constantly fighting against his neighbours, the Lodis of Delhi, and the kings of Malwa and Gujarat. He not only defeated the armies of the king of Gujarat, but besieged Ahmadnagar and plundered other towns also. He gave shelter to Bahadur Shah, son of Muzaffar, who came to him to escape from the hostility of his brother, and remained in Chitor till 1526. The encroachment of Sanga on the territories of the Lodis led to a war. But Sanga defeated the Lodi king at Khatauli in 1517, and repulsed other attacks. In 1519 Sanga successfully helped Medini Rai of Malwa against his king. By 1526 Sanga had become the most powerful ruler of Northern India, for the whole of Rajputana acknowledged his supremacy. A large part of the territories of Malwa had been annexed, and the kings of Gujarat and Delhi were afraid of him. When Babur overthrew Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, he found that his chief rival was Sanga. He, therefore, collected all his forces to crush him. Rana Sanga, too, made great preparations for the fight. Not only did Rajput forces join him, but the Afghan officers led by Mahmud Lodi, brother of Ibrahim, also came to fight under his banner. In 1527 the battle of Khanwa took place and the combined army of the Afghans and the Rajputs suffered a heavy defeat. Next year, while preparing to avenge the defeat, Sanga was poisoned by the nobles, who did not desire the prolongation of the conflict. With his death passed away the greatness of Mewar.

The Kingdoms of the Deccan. The Bahmani Kingdom.—Muhammad bin Tughluq's severity had led to the revolt of the Amirs of the Deccan under the leadership of Hasan. The rebels defeated the royal forces and declared the independence of the Deccan in 1347. They raised Hasan to the throne; he assumed

THE FIVE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN AND NEIGHBOURING STATES

The boundaries between States
are shown thus: - - - - -

Shading indicates disputed.
Country: Peoples
Towns
Rivers
Burhanpur
Tapti



the title of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, and made Gulbarga his capital.

The kingdom thus founded lasted from 1347 to 1526. For nearly a century and a quarter (1347-1482) it continued to flourish, till it extended from sea to sea. Its rulers enjoyed success against their enemies, among whom the most formidable were the kings of Vijayanagar. During the next half-century (1462-1526) power fell into the hands of the generals. The kingdom was weakened by the quarrels of the nobility, and was at last broken up into five Sultanates.

Alauddin Hasan, the founder of the kingdom, was also the organiser of the administration. He divided the kingdom into four provinces, appointed governors and laid down their duties.

Among his successors, Muhammad Shah I (1358-77) and Firoz (1397-1422) were noteworthy rulers. Muhammad and Firoz waged fierce wars against the Rajas of Vijayanagar. In these wars the bone of contention was the Raichur Doab, that is, the land between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers. The Rajas of Vijayanagar utilised every opportunity to cross the Tungabhadra and seize the forts in the Doab, and on these occasions the Bahmani kings led their forces against the Raja, defeated him in battle, and laid seige to Vijayanagar.

The Rajas of Warangal, who were the allies of the Rajas of Vijayanagar, were usually involved in these wars, in which they lost much of their western territories. Ahmed Shah (1422-35), who succeeded Firoz, carried on the fight against Vijayanagar and subjugated the kingdom of Warangal. He changed the capital to Bidar. During the reign of his son, Alauddin, quarrels broke out between the two groups of his nobility, the Deccanis and the Foreigners. The king of Malwa, Mahmud, invaded the Deccan in 1461 and advanced upon Bidar, but the support of the ruler of Gujarat forced Mahmud to withdraw. During the minority of the next ruler, Muhammad Shah III (1464-82), the affairs of the state were managed by the queen-mother and Mahmud Gawan, the minister.

Mahmud Gawan was a great statesman. He reformed the administration, and centralised authority over the army in the hands of the king. But the Deccani nobles were jealous of him and they succeeded in alienating the king from him. The old and innocent minister was executed, and his death removed the only person who could maintain order and unity in the kingdom.

The death of Muhammad Shah in 1482 was followed by a



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Outline Drawing of Painting of Polo and Other Figures, Kumatgi (Dist. Bijapur).

period of disorder in which the king and his ministers neglected the affairs of government, and allowed the provincial governors and generals to assume independence. Thus the Bahmani kingdom was divided into five principalities—the Adil Shahi of Bijapur, the Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar, the Imad Shahi of Berar, the Barid Shahi of Bidar and the Qutub Shahi of Golkonda.

Of these five principalities, that of Berar was annexed by the Nizam Shahis in 1575, and that of Bidar came to an end in 1609. Ahmadnagar was absorbed in the Mughal empire during the reign of Shahjahan, and Golkonda and Bijapur were extinguished by Aurangzeb in 1687.

The Bahmani kings were generous patrons of art and science. Their courts attracted scholars, poets, artists, and soldiers from Persia and other lands. They built strong fortresses, like that of Daulatabad, which are monuments of fine military engineering. Their mosques and tombs are impressive and their colleges imposing in appearance. The successors of the Bahmanis, the princes of Bijapur and Golkonda, erected magnificent buildings. Among them the most notable is the Gol Gumbaz, or the great tomb of Muhammad Adil Shah.

During the period of the Bahmani rule a number of poets flourished in Maharashtra who wrote devotional poems in Marathi; Jnaneshvara, the writer of a commentary on the *Bhagavad Gita*, and Namadeva and Ekanath, the hymn-makers, are famous among them. Their rule also gave encouragement to the rise of a rich literature in Deccani Hindi (or Urdu). The Muslim saints wrote religious books in prose and poetry for the common people, and the kings and poets composed poems on the Persian model.

Vijayanagar.—When the Deccan rose in revolt against Muhammad Tughluq, the Hindu princes of the south made use of the opportunity to assert their independence and establish their own kingdom. Harihar, the chief of Anagundi (a fort on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra), and his brother, Bukka, founded the city of Vijayanagar in 1336 and made it the capital of the new kingdom. Most of the southern states acknowledged the suzerainty of Vijayanagar, and its sway extended over the whole of the peninsula from sea to sea, south of the Tungabhadra.

The kings of Vijayanagar, however, coveted the Doab of Raichur and waged incessant wars with the Bahmanis for the possession of it. Their frequent attempts met with stout opposition and were usually unsuccessful. The first line of the kings of

Vijayanagar ruled till 1487. Among them Deva Raya II (1426–46) was the most noted ruler. He organised a large force of Muslim archers to strengthen his army, and showed special favours to them. During his reign the kingdom attained the height of prosperity. Conti, the Italian traveller, and Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador, visited his court, and they have left glowing accounts of the wealth and splendour of Vijayanagar.

Deva Raya's death was followed by confusion, and a new dynasty assumed power in 1505. Krishnadeva Raya, who ascended the throne in 1509, was the greatest ruler of the new dynasty. During his reign the Portuguese took possession of Goa. He fixed the river Krishna as the boundary between his kingdom and that of Orissa. He seized the Raichur Doab as the Bahmani principalities were then quarrelling among themselves. He died in 1530.

After his death factions broke out in the realm. The Muslim Sultans of the Deccan were at first divided among themselves, and were unable to intervene in the affairs of Vijayanagar, but during the reign of the last king, Sadashiva Raya, the regent Rama Raya seized the throne. He led expeditions against the Bahmani Sultans and raided the territories of even his allies among them. His arrogant and insulting behaviour united the Sultans against him, and they made a joint attack upon him. A great battle was fought at Raksas-Tangadi, better known as the battle of Talikota, where Rama Raya was defeated and killed (1565).

The empire of Vijayanagar then ceased to exist. But Rama Raya's brother Tirumal, who escaped from the battle, established a new dynasty which continued to rule in the south for many years.

The Rajas of Vijayanagar patronised Sanskrit learning. Sayana, the great Vedic commentator, and his learned brother Madhava, the philosopher, were ministers at their court. Telugu poets also received great encouragement from them. They built immense irrigation and water supply works, palaces, and temples, and they employed many fine sculptors and painters.

2. State of Society and Civilisation, A.D. 1200–1526

The Indian People

(a) **The Muslims.**—The conquest of India by the Muslim tribes of Central Asia and Afghanistan introduced new elements in the population of India.

These foreigners who came and settled in India brought with

them the religion of Islam, the languages which they spoke—Turkish and Persian—their Arabic learning, their social system, some new arts and crafts, manners and customs. A number of the Hindus were also converted—mostly from the lower class. Thus a small Muslim community was established in these times which lived largely in towns and cities. The community was divided into classes. The ruling class consisted of the nobles and officials who were mainly of foreign origin. They were grouped according to their tribes as Persian, Turks, Afghans and Arabs. They were also divided by occupation into four groups—Mughals and Pathans followed the profession of soldiers; Sayyids were concerned with religion, law and learning; and Shaikhs were occupied with trade and business. These groups tended to become almost as exclusive as the Hindu castes. For instance, intermarriage between them was not favoured.

A large number of converts and common people like artisans, craftsmen, soldiers and others formed the lower class among the Muslims. Except for religious beliefs and worship they did not differ much from their Hindu neighbours.

Besides them there was a section of Muslim slaves. But as Islam did not approve of caste, in spite of the divisions which existed in practice, it was possible for any Muslim, even a slave, to rise to the highest position in society.

Upper class Muslim women ordinarily lived in *pardah* and, therefore, their homes had different apartments for men and women.

The men of the ruling classes who had come from abroad gradually abandoned their original ways and adopted Indian manners and customs. The monarchs wore golden brocade dresses, carried Indian swords and daggers studded with jewels, and used umbrellas, elephants and other Indian emblems of royalty. They became fond of pomp and show and followed Indian practices in their courts.

They observed Indian festivals like *Dassehra* and *Diwali* and participated in celebrating *Holi*, besides their own festivals like *Shab-i-barat*, *Id* and *Nauroz*.

The Muslims in general imitated the court manners in dress, ornaments and food. Their rites and ceremonies were influenced by Indian practices, e.g., the ceremonies on the occasion of marriage or in connection with death. The amusements and sports were also a mixture of Indian and foreign.

Wine drinking was common among the nobility. Indian music and dance were enjoyed equally by all communities.

So far as the lower classes were concerned their ways of living, occupations and social divisions were similar to those of the Hindus of the same class.

The upper class Muslims studied Arabic and Persian, but all Muslims spoke the regional languages of India.

(b) **The Hindus.**—The vast majority of the people of India were Hindus by religion. But politically they were divided into many large and small states which were independent, and most of the time hostile to one another. A considerable section of the Hindu population had become subjects of the Delhi Sultanate.

The result of the conquest was that politically Hindu empires like that of the Guptas could not be established again, which was an irreparable loss of great magnitude.

But throughout the period Hindu landlords and chiefs exercised extensive authority under the suzerainty of Delhi throughout the country. Whenever the throne was occupied by a weak monarch, these chiefs endeavoured to throw off the authority of the centre.

In the social system there was not much change. The rigours of the caste system were somewhat harsher, the women's position less free and marriages were exclusively limited to subcastes. But there was little interference by the state in the administration of Hindu law and justice or in the practice of religion.

In fact most of the Sultans were tolerant and conferred high posts on the Hindus. For towards their Hindu subjects the Muslim rulers were bound, both by law and by considerations of policy, to maintain an attitude of toleration. From this only a few kings made a departure. Forcible conversion or demolition of temples was occasional. Sometimes the poll tax was levied on the Hindus, but its incidence was light. On the other hand, many Hindus found employment under Muslim rulers, sometimes in the highest posts. Mahmud, the Ghaznavide, appointed Tilak to suppress Niyaltigin's rebellion, Jalaluddin Khalji and Alauddin Khalji had Hindu favourites, Nain and his son Dusaju. Alauddin conferred the title of Rai Rayan on Ramadeva Yadava and gave him the fief of Navasari. Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah appointed Samar Singh Jain to a high post and Ghiyasuddin and Muhammad Tughluq gave him promotion so that he became governor of Telingana. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq set Raja Kameshwar to rule over Mithila, and Medini Rai became the regent of Mahmud II of Malwa. Both Muhammad Tughluq and Firoz Tughluq were

patrons of learned Hindu and Jain scholars, like Raja Shikhar, Jinprabha Suri, Gunbhadra, Munibhadra and Mahendra. There are records of the Muslim rulers giving permission to worship and aid for repair and resumption of Hindu or Jaina temples. For instance, Khwaja Jahan Ahmad Aiyaz, the prime minister of Muhammad Tughluq, gave orders for the restoration of Shiva worship at Kalyan.

The Muslim rulers were supported by the allegiance and homage of many Hindu chiefs and landholders, to whom they had given fiefs. In fact, one of the pretexts for Timur's invasion of India was the toleration of Hinduism. The subordinate posts in the administration were, of course, mainly in the hands of Hindus.

In the military forces, too, many Hindus were recruited to fight under the banner of the Sultan or his nobles. Mahmud of Ghazni had Hindu troops under the command of Hindu officers in his army. Muhammad Tughluq had recruited for the Khorasan expedition a large number of Hindu soldiers. The Hindus fought on the side of their Muslim chiefs in the wars against Hindu and Muslim enemies. Kharpara Hindus are mentioned in the chronicles as supply contingents to the armies of the Sultanate.

The Muslim rulers were generally just towards their Hindu subjects, and 'it was certainly possible for Hindus to obtain justice even against Muslims'. They encouraged the arts and letters of the people. In Bengal the rise of Bengali literature owes much to their encouragement. The rise of Avadhi literature was due to the stimulus of the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur, and the first great poet in the language was Malik Muhammad Jayasi. In Gujarat literature developed in the time of the Muslim rulers. Narsingh Mehta, the poet, lived in the fifteenth century. Yusuf Adil Shah made Marathi the court language. The principalities of Bijapur and Golkonda were centres of Urdu literature, and many Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi kings were good Urdu poets themselves.

Of the employment of Hindu artisans and craftsmen, the monuments of the kings are a shining proof. In working for their masters they created new styles of architecture in which the strength and ornamentation of Hindu buildings was combined with the grace and simplicity of Muslim architecture.

That the Muslim rulers were great patrons of letters is well known. Great writers in Persian flourished throughout the period among whom Amir Khusrau and Badr-i-Chach, the

poets, and Minhaj-u-Siraj and Ziauddin Barni, the historians, and Ain-ul-Mulk, the letter-writer, may be mentioned.

But the rulers were also interested in the sciences and arts of their Hindu subjects. Al Biruni studied Hindu religion and philosophy, and wrote treatises on them in Arabic. Firoz Tughluq had Sanskrit works rendered into Persian, and Sikandar Lodi ordered the translation of a medical work from Sanskrit into Persian. The *Shahnama* of Firdausi was translated into Kashmiri, and *Gita Govinda* and *Yoga Vasishtha* into Persian, in the reign of Zain-al-Abedin of Kashmir (1420-70).

With the advent of the Muslims many arts and crafts and scientific processes came into India, e.g., the making of paper, the use of certain acids, the working of new metals, and a branch of astronomy, called in Sanskrit, *Tajik*.

The independent Hindu chiefs were treated by the Muslim kings as foreign states—sometimes at peace, more often at war with them. Now the wars of those times were waged with terrible barbarities. The parties did not spare their enemies—honour, life, property, religious buildings—nothing escaped devastation and desecration. Both Hindus and Muslims fought for dominion and power. The Hindu chiefs warred both against the other Hindu chiefs and the Muslim Sultans, and so did the Muslim princes fight among themselves and against the Hindus. There was scarcely any war in which the Hindus did not form part of the army of the Muslim commanders, and Muslims were usually found fighting under the banner of the Hindus. The wars scarcely affected the poor peasants and artisans, whose lot was the same whether the chief was Hindu or Muslim.

Religion.—The Quran is the sacred book of Islam. Its teachings are simple and the most important among them is the doctrine of the unity of God. All Muslims are equal in society. Islam does not recognise differences of colour, race and status. Every believer is responsible for his faith and conduct. No priest is required to guide his worship and religious duties.

From early times some pious persons began to dedicate their lives to the service of God and to give up the pleasures of life. They endeavoured to overcome the pleasures of the senses and to seek the realisation of God. They were like Hindu Sadhus and Yogis, who practised mystic exercises and meditation.

These Muslim mystics had come into contact with the Hindu mystics in Iraq and Khorasan. In the 13th century many of them came to India. Sufi poetry in Persian and Sufi beliefs

and practices spread through their efforts. Some Sufi orders and Sufi preachers settled down in the different parts of the country. They taught the doctrines of love of God and service of man and converted many Hindus to Islam.

Among the Sufis, Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti and Abdul Qadir Jalani were famous.

Apart from the Sufis among whom many were scholars, the Muslim Ulama or learned men formed a class by themselves. The jurists who interpreted the laws and the judges who administered them belonged to this class. The historians, theologians and literary men also were members of this class. Many of them were rigid in their dogmas, and intolerant towards other religions. In their views of religion and law they were conservative, so that they ordinarily opposed all tendencies towards liberalism or deviation from the law.

It is not surprising that they usually disapproved of the policies and measures of the rulers which were based upon expediency and not upon the rules of legal codes. Between the Ulama who were upholders of *Shariat* (law), the followers of Sufi ways and the statesmen, mainly guided by the idea of the welfare of the state there were differences. The Ulama who were the leaders of the common people could create difficulties for the liberal minded rulers by inciting them against the government.

Muhammad Tughluq suffered from their hostility because he was in favour of innovation in the interpretation of laws (*shariat*), which the Ulama opposed. In his anger the Sultan punished them cruelly.

Government and Administration

(a) **The Sultan.**—According to Muslim theory the Caliph is the sovereign head of all the Muslims of the world, who are all under his authority. His duty is to enforce the injunctions of Muslim law, to govern the world Muslim community or to confer the power to rule on the heads of Muslim states.

In practice the Sultans were wholly independent of the Caliph and recognised his sovereignty only formally in name not in substance. The Sultan practised autocratic rule and maintained his dignity with great pomp and show.

In the thirteenth century the Sultan was regarded as the leader among chiefs and nobles. He was chosen to occupy the throne by them, from some prominent family. Under the Khaljis and Tughluqs the personal power of the king increased greatly and

then the choice became restricted to the members of the royal family.

The king transacted business through two assemblies: (1) the *Durbar-i-Khas*, and (2) the *Durbar-i-Am*. The first was the administrative or consultative council, where the highest officers met and advised the king. The second was the court where the king, as the highest judicial and executive authority, dispensed justice, distributed rewards and honours, inspected armies and received ambassadors in the presence of his courtiers and officers.

(b) **The household.**—For transacting the business of the household a large number of officials were required. At their head was *Wakil-i-Dar* and next to him was *Amir-i-Hajib*. Under them were other officials. There were departments for superintending *karkhanas* which produced articles for court use—robes, brocades, arms, and for maintaining stables for horses, elephants, etc.

(c) **The ministers.**—The government was conducted by four ministries. The first was the ministry of finance headed by the *Wazir*. The second was the ministry of religious works. Its chief was *Sadar-us-Sudur*. He dealt with religious matters like appointment of judges. The third was the department of military affairs presided over by *Arizi Mumalik*. The fourth ministry dealt with the state correspondence, royal commands and orders, known as the *Diwan-i-Insha* and its chief was *Dabir-i-Khas*.

In addition to the four principal ministers, there were others in charge of different departments: for instance, the head of the news agents and writers of the realm.

The ministers were appointed by the king and were directly responsible to him. Each minister was responsible for his department, for they did not exercise any collective responsibility.

Sometimes the king appointed a viceroy to perform the duties assigned to him.

(d) **The provincial administration.**—The kingdom was divided into provinces and tributary states. The provinces were placed under governors, some of whom enjoyed unlimited powers, but most others were entrusted with defined authority. They maintained peace and order and collected the revenue. The chiefs were autonomous but paid a fixed annual tribute.

The provinces consisted of a number of districts known as *shiq*. Below them were the *Parganahs* under *Amils*, *Qanungos*, *Munsifs*, *Karkuns*, etc.

The *parganah* was made up of a number of villages. They had their Panchayats which managed the affairs through the administrative head or *Chowdhari* and accountant, *Patwari*.

(e) **The army.**—The army consisted of the royal bodyguard, the troops of the capital, the troops of the provinces maintained by the assignment-holders, and the contingents of the Hindu chiefs. The first two formed the standing army of the state.

The officers were divided into three classes, the *Khans*, the *Maliks*, and the *Amirs*, who were commanders of fixed numbers of troops. Below them were leaders of ten or a hundred troopers. The commanders performed both civil and military functions, and were paid by means of assignments of the revenues of villages or estates.

It was a custom in these times that every king usually dismissed the officers of his predecessor, and appointed his own officers to whom he gave high ranks. Iltutmish had a corps of forty officers who held the highest ranks. Balban dismissed them and appointed his own officers. The Khaljis got rid of the Balbani and Turki officers and replaced them by Khaljis, and lastly, the Tughluqs substituted for them officers drawn from among foreigners, low-class Muslims and converts. Of course, the object was to have officials who would be loyal to the king, but the frequent changes created a spirit of personal attachment which proved fatal to the stability of the state.

The influence of Islam on the Hindus.—The Hindu social and religious systems had developed without much external influence till the Muslims appeared in India. In the Rajput period, the growth of the caste system and of sectarian religions had been completed. In the south, where the Muslims first settled, changes began in Hindu religious and social ideas. Many of these changes were due to the teachings of Shankara and the Shaiva and Vaishnava saints. Ramanuja gave a definite direction to them, and the Bhakti movement found in his philosophy a reasoned basis. His disciples carried forward the movement to all parts of India. The religion of Bhakti, or love and devotion, which gradually spread among the Hindu masses of the south and the north, had its roots in the doctrines taught in the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gita*. But its wide popularity in the middle ages was the result of Muslim influence. Some of the old features of Bhakti received a new emphasis from contact with Islam, and some were actually derived from the Muslim faith.

The important doctrines of Bhakti were the realisation of God

through love and through grace, and not by means of external acts (*Karma*), like pilgrimages, fasts, telling of beads, etc.; the devotion to the teacher (*guru*), who was regarded by the disciple as divine, the condemnation of caste differences, of the pretensions of priests, and of the worship of idols. Bhakti taught the equality of all men, whether rich or poor, noble or humble, and belief in one transcendent God by whatever name He may be called.

These doctrines were preached by saints who sprang up in all parts of India. They used the languages of the people to spread their doctrines. Kabir and Nanak preached in Hindi and Punjabi, Namdeva and Ekanath in Marathi, Mirabai in Rajasthan and Gujarati, Chaitanya in Bengali, Basava in Kanarese, Vemana in Telugu, the Siddhars in Tamil, and Lallisari and Shaikh Nuruddin Rishi in Kashmiri.

These Hindu saints and preachers expounded the cult of Bhakti and preached against the abuses of Hindu society and the rigid ritualism and formalism which had crept into it. They adopted the language of the people to take their message to the masses. They believed in the equality of all religions and the unity of God. They brought a new life to the poor and the downtrodden people by emphasising that the dignity of man resulted from his actions and not his birth. Salvation came by devotion to God and living a life of piety, truth and faith.

Ramanand was the first of these saint-reformers. He was born at Allahabad and preached his doctrines in Hindi, which was the language of the people of northern India. He worshipped Rama and expounded the cult of Rama worship. He had many disciples who came from various classes. Kabir was also his disciple. Next to him comes Vallabhacharya, who preached the worship of Krishna, and insisted on the complete identity of the soul with the supreme spirit. In Bengal, the greatest Vaishnava saint and preacher of Bhakti was Chaitanya (1485-1533) who was born in a Brahmana family of Nadia. He renounced the worldly life at the age of twentyfour and devoted the rest of his life to imparting his message of love and devotion to Krishna. He observed no distinctions of caste or creed in giving his message and had disciples drawn from the lower castes and even from among Muslims. His influence was great on the masses and in Bengal he is considered to be an incarnation of Vishnu. His creed had an abiding influence on the religious life of Bengal.

In Assam Shankaradeva taught the same doctrines through the

Assamese language and gave impetus to the Vaishnava Bhakti movement, which attracted both Hindus and Muslims.

Namdeva in Maharashtra was another great preacher whose influence has been lasting. He did not believe in external forms of religion and worship, but emphasised devotion and love of God as the means of attaining salvation. He had many Muslims among his followers. He himself came from the caste of tailors. In the north, Kabir, a Muslim weaver, inspired by the preachings of Ramanand devoted his life to the preaching of Bhakti and denouncing the formalism of religions, both Hindu and Muslim. His teachings are found in Hindi, whose poetry he greatly enriched. In the same period Guru Nanak flourished in the Punjab. He was the founder of Sikhism and preached universal toleration and the unity of God and denounced ritualism in both Islam and Hinduism. Lallisari and Shaikh Nuruddin Rishi, who flourished in the fifteenth century were Kashmiri saints. Lallisari was a Brahmana lady. She was against ritualism, and preached against worshipping stones. Nuruddin Rishi worked hard for Hindu-Muslim brotherhood. He remained a strict vegetarian and did not discriminate between man and man.

CHAPTER VI

INDIA UNDER THE MUGHALS, A.D. 1526–1818

A. The Mughal Ascendancy, 1526–1707

(a) Introduction

Babur conquered Northern India from the Lodis. His great successors extended the Mughal dominion till, in the reign of Aurangzeb, nearly the whole country was brought under one rule. The period between the victory of Babur over Ibrahim Lodi (1526), and the death of Aurangzeb (1707), is one of the most glorious in the history of India. Under the Mughal rulers the fame of India's wealth and splendour spread all over the world. India achieved political unity on a large scale and witnessed the rise of a common civilisation in which most of her people participated. The administrative system was highly developed and all parts of the country were brought under a uniform system of government. The people prospered, and arts and letters flourished.

During the reign of Aurangzeb decline set in; and in the eighteenth century the empire was rent by internal dissensions and the rise of the Marathas, the Sikhs and the Jats. The north-western gates of India were left unguarded, and invaders plundered and harried the land and created anarchy and confusion. The European settlers on the coasts of India found an opportunity to interfere in Indian affairs and to acquire dominion. From among them the British ultimately succeeded in overcoming their rivals and in establishing their power over India.

(b) Babur and Humayun and the Foundation of Mughal Rule in India

The Political Condition of India in the Sixteenth Century.

—The break-up of the Tughluq empire in the fifteenth century had led to the establishment of a number of petty states in India.

Geographically they were distributed over three regions: (1) the northern plains, (2) the central uplands, and (3) the Deccan.

In the first region Sindh and Multan were under an independent prince; the Punjab was nominally a province of Delhi,

but really its Afghan governors regarded themselves as equals of the Delhi kings. The kingdom of Delhi was held by the Lodis and included the whole of the Doab, and the Sharqi principality of Jaunpur and Bihar. Bengal was independent in the east; and in the west Rajputana was united under the supremacy of the Sisodias of Mewar.

In the second region Gujarat, Malwa and Khandesh were under Muslim kings, and the eastern parts, including Gondwana and Orissa, were governed by Hindu princes.

In the third region the five Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan (now reduced to four) ruled the northern part, and the kings of Vijayanagar the southern.

Of these states, the kingdom of Delhi was the most important. Bahlol and Sikandar had made efforts to bring the northern plains under one dominion, but their monarchy was founded upon the good-will of the Afghan chiefs, who were jealous of their status; and when Ibrahim offended their sense of self-respect by his haughty and suspicious conduct, the state was distracted by revolts. The powerful rivalry of the Sisodias reduced its strength still further.

Thus, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, Northern India was again divided, and its Hindu and Muslim princes were waging bitter feuds among themselves. The discontented Lodi governors and Rajput princes combined to invite a foreigner, Babur, the king of Kabul, to help them in overthrowing the unpopular Sultan of Delhi.

Babur's Early Career.—Babur was descended from Timur on the father's side and from Chingiz Khan through his mother. At the age of twelve he became the ruler of Farghana, a petty principality in Central Asia. His ambition was to become master of Samarkand, which was the capital of the Timurid empire. In his early days he made attempts to realise his ambition but failed. He was driven out of Central Asia by the Uzbeks, and in 1505 he took possession of Kabul. He spent a number of years in consolidating his position and then turned his attention to India.

Conquest of India.—In 1524 Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab, who desired to assume independent control of the province, renounced his allegiance to Ibrahim and invited Babur to help him against the Sultan. Babur, who had long entertained the design of conquest, welcomed the opportunity. He crossed the Indus and marched to Lahore. But Daulat Khan turned against

him and Babur did not consider it opportune to advance further into India. He returned to Kabul and made preparations for the conquest of India. In the winter of 1525, he led his forces from Afghanistan for the invasion of the Punjab. He defeated and scattered Daulat Khan's troops and entered Lahore. He now resolved to march upon Delhi, and received encouraging letters from the nobles of Ibrahim's court and from Rana Sanga, promising him support. He encountered Ibrahim, who had advanced from Delhi to check the invader, on the fateful field of Panipat. Although Babur's army was much smaller in numbers, it had the advantage of fine artillery and a skilful general and it inflicted a decisive defeat upon the undisciplined and badly led forces of Ibrahim. The Sultan himself died on the field, and Delhi and Agra fell immediately into the hands of the victor. The petty chiefs made their submission, and the Doab passed into Babur's hands.

The first stage of the conquest was over. Babur had now to contend against two other formidable enemies—the Afghan princes in the east, and the Rajputs under Rana Sanga. He first marched against the Rana, who had secured the alliance of the Lodi officers. The combined Indian forces fought against Babur at Khanwa (1527) and were routed. Babur then turned to the Afghan chiefs in Bihar. He attacked them on the banks of the Ghaghra at its confluence with the Ganga and triumphed over them (1529). These victories gave him mastery over the wide territory from the Hindukush mountains to the borders of Bengal.

Within a year of the battle of Ghaghra, Babur fell ill and died in 1530. Although he laid the foundations of an empire, he had little time to rear the structure of its administration. Babur proclaimed himself, according to the Persian model, *Padshah* of India. He determined to make India his home, and laid out gardens and buildings for pleasure and comfort.

Babur's Character.—He was a frank, open-hearted, cheerful man. He was patient in adversity and hopeful even after defeats. He possessed noble ambitions, boundless courage, and a spirit which loved adventure. He was a skilful general and a mild, just and generous administrator. He was fond of art and literature, and had a fine literary taste. He wrote in both prose and poetry. His memoirs are justly famous for their delightful style.

Humayun.—Humayun, who came to the throne at the age of twenty-three, had serious difficulties to meet. The conquests



A Sixteenth Century Camp.
From Blochet's "*Mussalman Painting*."

[By permission of the Author and Messrs. Methuen and Co.]

of his father were recent, and the government had not yet become stable, for the chiefs and the people had not accepted it with loyalty. It required statesmanship and strength on the part of the ruler to give it firmness and stability. Unfortunately, Humayun's position was weakened by internal difficulties. His brothers were ambitious and selfish, and desired to rule independently. They were jealous of him and hostile. Humayun on his accession gave them large provinces to govern. Kamran was specially favoured, for he not only obtained Kandahar and Kabul, but seized the Punjab also and set up as an independent king. There were other relations of the king who plotted against him. Then the dangers which threatened the kingdom from outside were formidable. The Lodis and other Afghan chiefs were not reconciled to the loss of power, and were making efforts in the east to recover their kingdom. Bahadur Shah, king of Gujarat, was entertaining designs of acquiring the empire of Delhi.

Character of Humayun.—Unfortunately the king, although an accomplished scholar and a brave, genial and merciful ruler, did not possess the qualities necessary for overcoming the difficulties of the times. He was weak and vacillating; he loved ease and pleasure. He did not possess sternness or determination, nor had he the talents of a good general. It is not surprising that circumstances proved too strong for him, and he was unable to retain the conquests of Babur.

Wars and Exile.—Humayun's enemies threatened his dominions from the east and the west. Bahadur Shah, who was master of both Gujarat and Malwa, had given shelter to his relations who were scheming for the throne. Humayun invaded Malwa and drove Bahadur out of Champaner, which he captured. Then he pursued him through Gujarat to Cambay, and captured Mandu. Here he gave himself up to pleasure. His inactivity and the disaffection of his brothers gave Bahadur an opportunity to return. Humayun was forced out of Gujarat, and the conquests easily won were soon lost.

In the east Sher Khan Sur had first helped a Lodi prince to drive out the Mughals from Bihar and Oudh, but on his defeat he had submitted. But while Humayun was busy in Gujarat he rose in open revolt. Humayun proceeded against him and was allowed to pass through into Bengal. Sher Khan then took possession of the fortress of Chunar, cut Humayun's communications with the capital, and when he returned, defeated him at Chausa (1539). Next year Humayun again met Sher Khan

opposite Kanauj and was again defeated. Delhi and Agra fell into the hands of Sher Khan, who assumed the title of king. Humayun fled towards Rajputana and Sindh. During his exile Akbar was born at Amarkot in 1542. Humayun could not stay there, and turned to Kandahar where his brother was governor. But the hostility of his brother obliged him to seek refuge with the Shah of Persia.

Humayun's Return.—Tahmasp, the Shah of Persia, gave him assistance in recovering his lost dominion. Humayun captured Kandahar in 1545, and then, after a long struggle with Kamran, occupied Kabul in 1550. With the surrender of Kamran three years later, Humayun became undisputed master of Afghanistan, and in 1554 he resolved upon the reconquest of India. Muhammad Shah Adil Sur, and his minister Himu, were then governing India. But there were many competitors for the throne among the Afghans, and their quarrels had thrown the country into civil war and confusion. The chances of Humayun were bright. He invaded India in 1555, defeated the Afghans and re-occupied Delhi and Agra. The conquest was, however, hardly completed before he died from the injuries he received in falling down the stairs of his library.

(c) **Sher Shah and the Sur Dynasty, 1540–1555**

Sher Khan was the son of a petty Afghan jagirdar of the Shahabad district in Bihar. He early showed signs of administrative capacity, for when his father appointed him his deputy, he introduced important reforms in the land revenue administration. When Babur came to India, he entered the service of the Mughal emperor, who placed him in charge of Bihar. He utilised his position to make himself independent ruler of the province. Humayun attempted to bring Sher Shah back to obedience, but his attempts failed, and he was driven out of India in 1540. Sher Shah then conquered Malwa, Sindh, Marwar, and Mewar, and subjugated the country of the Gakkhars in the north-western Punjab. While laying siege to Kalinjar he was killed by an explosion of gun-powder in 1545.

Sher Shah was a remarkable king. Although he ruled despotically, he ruled for the good of the people. He was tolerant towards his hindu subjects, and he dealt severely with the jagirdars, chiefs and officials, both Muslim and Hindu, who attempted to tyrannise over the peasants. He reorganised the civil administration. The country was divided into districts which consisted of a

number of Parganas. Each Pargana had a military commander, a treasurer, a judicial officer and two accountants—one who wrote in Hindi and the other in Persian. He revived some of the regulations of Alauddin Khalji regarding the army and the system of land revenue administration. The whole land was surveyed and measured. Measurement was made the basis of the demand of the state, and the share of the state was fixed at one-fourth of the produce. But the peasants who desired to pay according to the method of sharing (*Batai*) of the produce were allowed to do so.

The army was divided into divisions, and the divisions were stationed under their commanders (*Faujدارs*) at important places. In addition a standing army was maintained under the direct command of the king. Hindus held high positions in the army. For the detection and punishment of crime the villages were made responsible. The *muqaddams* were punished if thefts and robberies in their locality remained undetected. The courts were presided over by *Qazis* and officers of justice (*Mir Adil*).

Sher Shah stimulated trade and travel by building roads. One road 3,000 miles long, ran from Rohtas on the Indus to Sonargaon near Dacca; a second led from Agra to Burhanpur (on the Tapti); a third from Agra to Chitor, and a fourth from Lahore to Multan. Shady trees were planted along the roads and rest-houses established. Equal provision was made for Hindus and Muslims in these houses.

The stimulus which roads gave to commerce was further strengthened by the abolition of vexatious tolls and customs. In adopting these measures, Sher Shah's object was the creation of a consolidated state, whose ruler governed the whole country uniformly and directly. Sher Shah died prematurely, but his aims and ideas bore fruit in the time of Akbar.

Sher Shah's Successors.—On the death of Sher Shah, his son, Islam Shah, was raised to the throne. His reign lasted about nine years. He was disturbed by the intrigues of his brother and by the rebellions in the provinces. A disputed succession followed his death, and then Muhammad Adil Shah assumed sovereignty in 1554. He was a worthless ruler and left the conduct of the affairs of the state in the hands of Himu—a Hindu *baniya* of Rewari—his minister. Revolts broke out all around, and while the king was engaged in suppressing them, Humayun, who had by this time become master of Afghanistan, invaded India. He occupied the Punjab without opposition, defeated Sikandar Shah, and entered Delhi in July 1555. He died, how-

ever, on the 24th January, 1556, after proclaiming Akbar, who was very young, as his successor. These developments gave courage to Himu who advanced to Panipat with a large army and met the Mughals under Akbar and Bairam Khan. He fought bravely, but lost the battle and was slain. Adil Shah made no attempt to resist the Mughals; he remained in the east and was killed in an engagement with the king of Bengal. Thus the dynasty of Sher Shah Sur came to an end.

(d) **Akbar, 1556–1605**

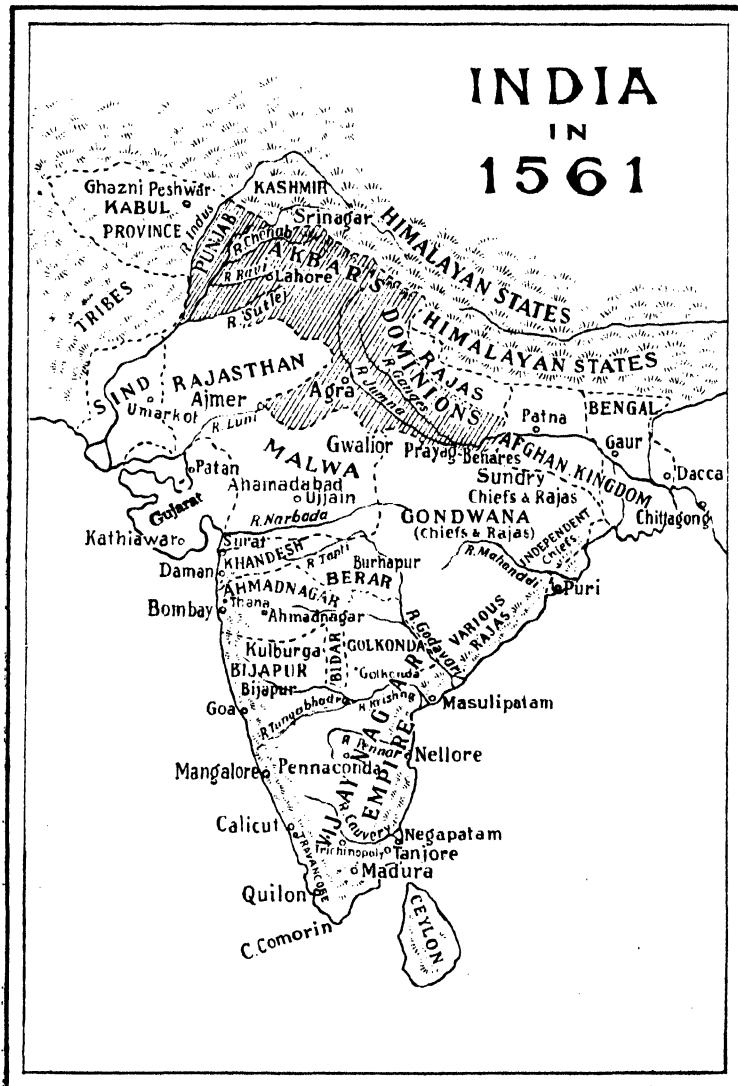
Akbar, who came to the throne at the early age of thirteen, had to face extraordinary difficulties, for the country was seething with factions, disorder and internecine wars. To put an end to chaos and evolve order was a formidable task. Babur had made an attempt to unify India politically, and Sher Shah to establish a uniform administration, but neither was able to bring the attempt to completion. Akbar had not only to unite India under one sceptre and one system of administration, he had to achieve a higher object, namely, to lay the foundations of a society held together by the bonds of a common culture.

His long reign of forty-nine years is almost equally divided into two parts by the year 1581, and the history of each part has to be considered under three aspects—(1) military expeditions, (2) administrative reforms, and (3) social and religious reforms.

(1) **Military Expeditions, 1556–81.**—At the time of Humayun's death Akbar was too young to undertake the government of the country; therefore Bairam Khan, the trusted lieutenant of Humayun, became regent, and Akbar remained under his tutelage for four years. Their first task was to check the victorious advance of Himu and recover Delhi and Agra. The Mughal forces marched to Panipat, defeated and slew Himu, and occupied Delhi and Agra. The possession of the capital gave a great advantage to the conquerors, and they soon spread over the surrounding country. Between 1558 and 1560 Gwalior, Ajmer and Jaunpore were recovered. In the year 1560 Akbar, who was then a youth of eighteen, resolved to take the reins of government in his own hands, for Bairam Khan's behaviour was becoming overbearing and he had offended many nobles. He dismissed Bairam from his service and ordered him to leave India on pilgrimage. On his way to the sea-coast he was murdered by an Afghan at Patan. Bairam Khan was a true and loyal servant, and the

Mughals owed their initial success to his determination and bravery.

The next twenty years saw the rapid conquest of Northern India. Under the skilful and daring generalship of Akbar, the principalities of Central India, including Kalinjar (1569) and Gondwana (1564) were annexed and in Rajputana the fortresses



of Chitor (1568) and Ranthambhor (1569) were occupied. War was carried on against the Rana of Mewar, Udai Singh and Chitor was stormed. But Mewar soon rose in revolt under the



A Rajput Cavalier.

Kalian Rai Rathor ready for Battle.

Reproduced from "*The Splendour that was Ind.*"

[By courtesy of Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co.]

leadership of the heroic Rana Pratap who throughout his life, although buffeted by misfortune, continued to offer resistance to the Mughal empire. After Mewar other Rajput states were subjugated. Ranthambhor and Kalinjar were annexed in 1569. Malwa was overrun and subjugated in 1564 and Gujarat was conquered in 1573. Akbar led an expedition into the east in 1574, and captured Patna and brought Bihar under his control. His generals invaded Bengal and Orissa the next year, and put an end to the independent kingdom of Bengal in 1576.

Akbar had to quell many revolts during the period of his conquests. The kinsmen and nobles of the Mughal emperor were ambitious and adventurous. Many were constantly scheming for independence and principality, and their restless activity gave enormous trouble to the emperor. Akbar, however, was more than a match for them. He pursued them untiringly, and by the wonderful rapidity of his marches, his fearlessness in facing their attacks, and generosity in dealing with them when defeated, he ultimately crushed them or reconciled them to his rule.

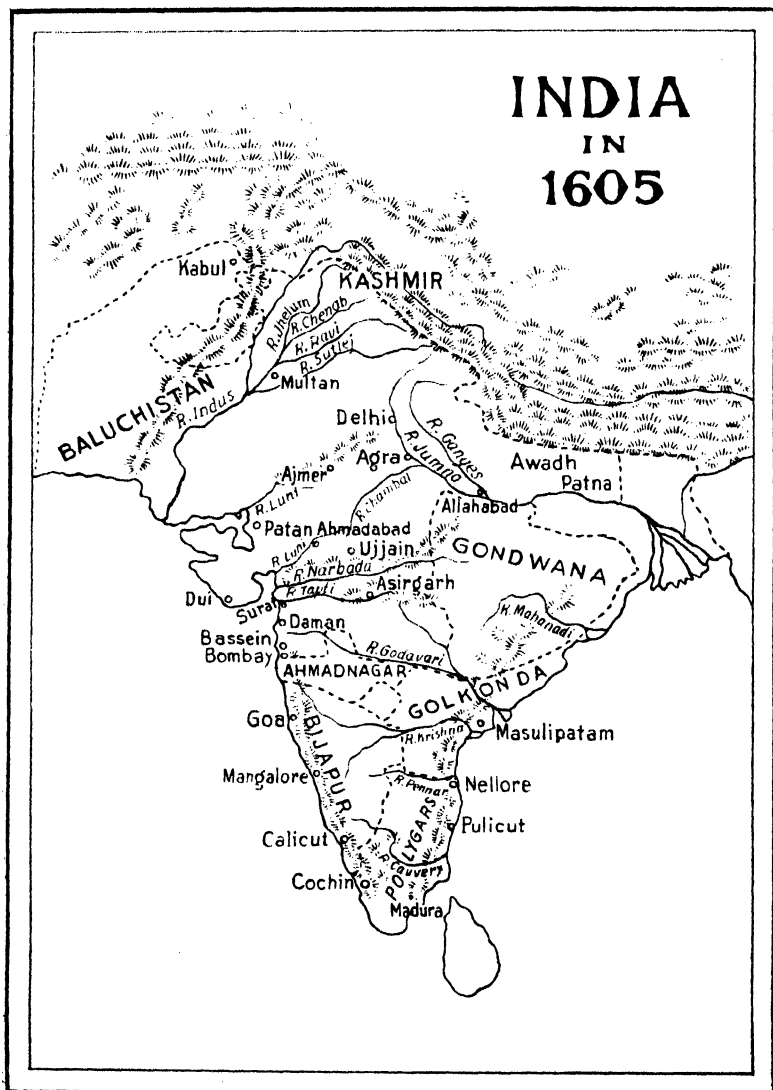
The most serious rebellion broke out in 1580. The administrative measures and the religious policy of Akbar had created a great deal of resentment. The narrow-minded theologians, the discontented noblemen, and the newly subjugated chiefs rose against the emperor. They conspired with Muhammad Hakim, the half-brother of Akbar, and the Viceroy of Kabul, and aimed at the emperor's dethronement. Akbar drew up a careful plan to meet the enemies who had risen on all sides. He personally advanced against Hakim, who fled at his approach and was allowed to retain possession of Kabul. Akbar's commanders defeated the rebels in Bihar, Bengal and Gujarat. The end of the trouble found Akbar more securely seated on the throne than ever before.

1581–1605.—Akbar now turned his attention towards affairs in the north-west. Beyond the frontiers of Afghanistan a new power was rising which might threaten the safety of the Mughal empire. The Uzbegs, who had driven Babur out of his home in Transoxiana, were under the rule of Abdullah at this time, and they were a danger to the north-western frontier of Akbar's empire. Besides, the tribes living in the hilly region between India and Afghanistan were becoming restless owing to the teachings of a religious fanatic who had founded the sect of *Roshanīyas*.

For thirteen years (1585–98) Akbar remained in the north, and spread his armies like a fan to operate against the enemies from Kashmir to Sindh. So far as the frontier tribes were concerned only partial success was achieved, and that, too, at considerable sacrifice, including the loss of Raja Birbal. The operations in Kashmir were crowned with complete success, the imperial forces entered Srinagar, and Kashmir became a part of the empire in 1586. Five years later Sindh and, in 1595, Baluchistan and Kandahar, fell into his hands. These conquests brought the whole of the north-western frontier under the control of the

emperor and greatly reduced the danger of invasion from Central Asia. The death of Abdullah in 1598 set Akbar's mind at rest with regard to the north-west and he therefore proceeded to the Deccan.

The subjugation of Orissa in 1592 had united the whole of Northern India into a single empire; but the Deccan still remained outside. Already, in 1591, he had sent envoys to the



Sultans of the Deccan asking them to recognise his suzerainty. Their mutual wars had allowed the Portuguese to obtain possession of many ports on the coast, and their subjugation was therefore necessary both for the sake of the unity of India and the recovery of Indian territory from the foreigners. The Deccan Sultans, however, refused to surrender their independence and Akbar resolved to reduce them to obedience by force. The imperial troops were ordered to march upon Ahmadnagar. For a time the heroic defence of Chand Bibi saved the city, but her death deprived the state of its only saviour. In 1599 Akbar appeared in the Deccan in person, and Ahmadnagar was captured. The next year the strong fort of Asirgarh also capitulated. The conquered territories were organised as provinces of the empire.

Akbar's Dominion.—In 1605 Akbar's dominion extended over a vast territory. Its boundaries touched Transoxiana and Persia on the north and the north-west, and Assam and Burma in the east. It stretched from the Himalayas to the frontiers of the Bijapur and Golkonda kingdoms in the south. The empire was divided into fifteen *subahs* (provinces), namely, (1) Kabul; (2) Lahore (including Kashmir); (3) Multan (including Sindh); (4) Delhi; (5) Agra; (6) Avadha; (7) Allahabad; (8) Bihar; (9) Bengal (including Orissa); (10) Malwa; (11) Gujarat; (12) Ajmer; (13) Khandesh; (14) Berar; and (15) Ahmadnagar.

(2) Administrative Reforms. The System of Land Revenue Administration.—Sher Shah had tried to introduce reforms in the old system of land revenue administration. But his reign had been short and was followed by confusion and Mughal conquest. His ideas remained, but they had to be applied in practice. During the first half of Akbar's reign experiments were made in order to discover what system would be most suitable; in the latter half of the reign the new system became stable and was established in the principal provinces of the empire.

The difficulties which had to be overcome were many. In the old system there was no certainty about the revenues of the state. The revenue had to be collected through intermediaries and farmers who tended to become refractory. The relations between the intermediaries and the tenants were uncertain, and the security of the tenure of the cultivators depended upon the sweet will of the intermediaries. Sometimes the assessment was made on the basis of the area sown, and sometimes on the basis of the produce reaped. Cash payments were rare and collections were usually made in grain. Akbar established an efficient system

based on the measurement of areas and direct collection by the state. In the first place, he ordered the survey and measurement of the area under cultivation by means of reliable measuring instruments. In the second place, his revenue officers computed, as correctly as possible, the total produce of each village, taking into account the area under crop, the kinds of crops and the differences between the fertility of the varieties of land. In the third place, the price of the produce was fixed in such a manner as to eliminate the effect of seasonal changes in prices, and to avoid unfairness to the cultivator.

On the basis of these calculations lists were prepared for each Pargana, so that the demand of the state revenue was calculated in accordance with the yield and price of each locality separately. This demand was, however, actually fixed in cash and not in kind, and was equivalent to one-third of the average produce. It applied not only to the reserved districts directly administered by the crown, but also the estates of the chiefs who held assignments (*jagirs*) of land. The procedure was as follows: (1) In each season every field under crop was measured, the class of land on the basis of its fertility was noted, as well as the kind of crop sown; the areas in which crops had failed or had been injured were marked. The entries for each peasant were added up and his total produce calculated. (2) The prices of different kinds of produce were taken from the lists, and the value of the total produce of a peasant's holding was worked out. (3) The state demand was fixed at one-third of this sum. (4) The peasant paid the sum to the local treasurer or to the collecting officer who, with the help of the village headman and the accountant, realised it from him.

In this system the peasant knew beforehand how much he had to pay to the Government; the assessment depended upon the quality of the land, and therefore gave encouragement to the cultivator for improvement. Due consideration was paid to damage to crops. With its establishment a number of vexatious and miscellaneous taxes were abolished.

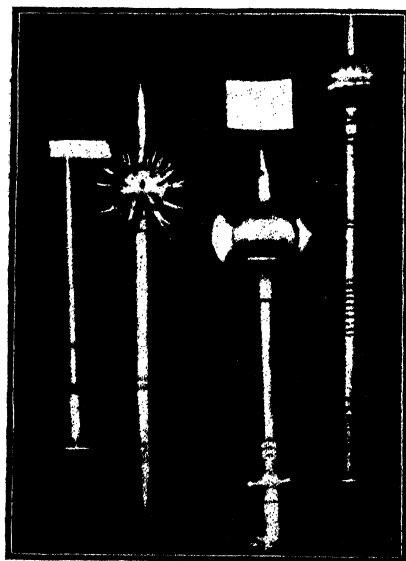
The Organisation of the Imperial Service.—The efficiency and stability of administration depend upon the officers who are appointed to serve the state. In the preceding chapters it has been shown how the Sultans of Delhi organised their corps of office-holders. When Akbar came to the throne this problem engaged his attention also. In the Middle Age no distinction was made between civil and military services, and therefore a single

imperial service was instituted, and was known by the name of the *Mansabdari* system.

The word '*Mansab*' means rank or office. The *Mansabdar* was the bearer of a rank whose salary was fixed in accordance with his grade, and whose grade was indicated by a number which defined the contingent of troopers under his command. Akbar divided the Mansabs into 33 grades; the lowest rank was that of a Mansabdar of 10, and the highest that of 10,000. The number did not represent the actual strength of the contingent, but fixed the rank of the Mansabdar and the quota of the horses he was expected to maintain.

The appointment, promotion and dismissal of a Mansabdar depended entirely upon the will of the sovereign. His rank was not hereditary, and the salary was paid either directly from the royal treasury or by means of assignments of land revenue (*jagir*). A Mansabdar was expected to perform civil or military duties in accordance with the orders of the emperor.

The Military Organisation.—The military strength of Akbar consisted of a small standing army and a large militia, composed of the contingents of the Mansabdars and chiefs. The standing army was maintained and equipped by the emperor, and its expenses were paid directly by the imperial treasury. One of the interesting elements of the army was the corps of gentlemen troopers, or *Ahadis*, who did not serve under any officer but were recruited directly. The standing army always stood in readiness for the campaigns of the emperor.

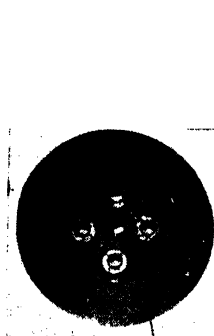


Maces and Battle-axes.
(Loan Collection of Antiquities)

One part of the militia consisted of the troops of the Rajas and chiefs who recognised the suzerainty of the emperor, and who were bound to send military assistance on demand. The other

part was composed of the contingents of the Mansabdars. Each Mansabdar was expected to maintain a certain number of soldiers (*Tabinan*). The soldier provided his own horse and armour, and his salary covered the expense of keeping a horse. He received his salary through the Mansabdar. The Mansabdars received their pay from assignments of the land revenue of certain villages. If the *jagir* was large, the collection of revenue was made by the agents of the Mansabdar, and the imperial officers had little control over it.

The troops of the Mansabdars were periodically inspected. At the time of entrance into service the descriptive rolls of the



Shield

Armour
(Mughals.)

Headpiece

(Loan Collection of Antiquities)

Mansabdar, his troopers and horses, were prepared, and the horses were branded. At the musters they were verified and certified before the salary was sanctioned.

The army was essentially a cavalry force, and its effective strength depended upon horsemen. But there were other branches too, namely, artillery and infantry. The artillery was not efficient, and the infantry was composed of foot soldiers who used all kinds of weapons and armour, but who were not properly trained and were looked down upon. Akbar made use of elephants for carrying archers and musketeers, but they were an awkward element and played a small part in his battles.

The Administrative System.—The first object of a government is to maintain peace and order, to defend the country from external invasions and to prevent internal commotions. Without tranquillity and security, wealth and prosperity cannot grow, and art and culture cannot flourish. In the Middle Age the task of government was made difficult by the lack of modern means of

communication and transport. Nor did the state possess the powerful modern instruments of warfare which make armed rebellion against a government almost hopeless. The upkeep of an efficient army was the principal object of the state, and the most important duty of the ruler was to lead the army. The sovereign was the supreme commander of his forces, and his success depended upon the concentration of all powers in him. He was, therefore, an autocrat. The one great limitation upon his powers was that he could make no laws, as the priests and the learned were the custodians of law, which was based upon religion.

The emperor was aided in his task by his ministers, the chief of whom were:—

1. The *Vakil*, or Prime Minister, who was the chief adviser and assistant of the emperor.
2. The *Wazir*, or Finance Minister, who was also known as the *Diwan*.
3. The *Bakhshi*, or War Minister, who was in charge of the army.
4. The *Sadr*, or the Minister for Religion, who was the highest ecclesiastical officer.

The head of the provincial administration was the *Subahdar* or *Sipahsalar*, who maintained peace and order. Under him were *Faujدارs* or district commandants. The *Diwan* of a province was in charge of the provincial revenue. He dealt with *Amils* or collectors of revenue, and the subordinate revenue staff consisting of the *Qanungo*, *Patwari*, etc. The *Kotwal* was the prefect of the city, and combined in him the duties of the magistrate and the police. The administration of justice was carried on through *Qazis* and *Mir Adls* (judicial officers).

(3) **Social and Religious Reforms.**—Akbar was not only interested in establishing an efficient system of administration, he was also anxious to remove the social evils which had become prevalent among the Hindu and the Muslim communities. He was a liberal ruler who realised that the strength of a people depended upon the purity of their customs and the humaneness of their institutions. He abolished the enslavement of conquered enemies, and forbade the molestation of their wives and children. He gave orders to prevent the practice of *Sati*, and discouraged child-marriages and tried to stop a number of other superstitious customs. He abolished the taxes that were levied on pilgrims or for religious purposes. With the Hindus, Akbar established relations of amity because he desired that all his subjects should

be regarded as equals. He adopted a number of Hindu ceremonies, for example, the *Tuladan* (weighing of the person of the emperor against precious things and giving them in charity). He married the daughter of Raja Bhar Mal Kachwaha of Amber, and thus cemented the bonds of friendship with the Hindus.

The age in which Akbar lived was one of great religious ferment. In Europe and Asia people were dissatisfied with their old religious ways, for a hard crust of rites and ceremonies, dogmas and doctrines had been formed, obscuring the true purpose of religion. In order to restore the life-giving virtues of religion, and to make it the means of man's inner happiness and the instrument of love and harmony in society, it was necessary to break the crust which benumbed and deadened the hearts of men.

In India, in the fifteenth century, the religion of love and devotion was rapidly capturing the mind of the people. Both Muslim and Hindu saints like Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya were spreading this religion among the Indian masses. Akbar, who was endowed by nature with a feeling heart, yearned to understand the mysteries of life and was much affected by this movement. He was a seeker after truth. He desired peace for his own soul and for others. He longed to end the bitter quarrels of religion which divided his people, and establish universal toleration and concord (*Sulh Kul*).

Akbar was a broad-minded, truth-seeking liberal, who had a deeply religious mind. He disliked the bigoted attitude of the *Ulema* and was much offended by their hypocrisy, and their love of power and wealth. He wanted to understand and if possible remove the differences between the different schools of Muslim law and theology, so he constructed an *Ibadat Khana* (House of Worship) at Fatchpur Sikri in 1575 where religious discussions were held. He assembled here representatives of the different schools of the Muslim religion, and here he sat with Shaikh Mubarak and his illustrious sons, Faizi and Abul Fazl, to listen to the debates and to participate in the search for agreement. But orthodoxy and conservatism prevented the achievement of this object. The emperor took counsel with the professors of the Hindu, Jaina, Sikh, Parsi and Christian religions also, and showed great keenness in understanding their doctrines. He saw that there was truth in every religion, but men's narrowness and selfishness did not permit them to recognise this. It was, therefore, necessary for the emperor to assume the role of an interpreter of religious doctrines. In 1575, a decree was promulgated which

declared that the emperor was the *Imam-i-Adil* (Arbiter of Muslim Law). This sought to make him the religious head of the state.



Ibadat Khana with Jesuits.

From Blochet's "*Mussalman Painting*."

[By permission of the Author and Messrs. Methuen & Co.]

The decree was resented by many orthodox people, and conspiracies were started to dethrone Akbar. But he proved a match to both the bigoted Ulema and the dissatisfied and rebellious nobles. He triumphed over all of them.

In order to attach to his person a loyal and devoted group of people, he established a sect known as the *Din-i-Ilahi* (the Divine Faith). Its members took the oath to obey the Emperor and to

place under his direction their life, honour, property and faith, and to be guided by him in the search for spiritual truth. The emperor did not propagate this faith by force, temptation or reward. The number of those who joined the order was not large, for few among the rich, learned and powerful men who surrounded the throne shared the deep spiritual longings of the



The Jauhar.

Rajput Ladies' Self-immolation during the Siege of Chitor.

From *The Akbarnamah*.

Reproduced from "*The Splendour that was Ind.*"

[By courtesy of Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co.]

emperor, and after his death he had no successor worthy to guide his followers on the path. But the memory of his great dream remains. In the words of Lord Tennyson, Akbar longed 'to rear a sacred fane, loftier, simpler than any Pagoda, Mosque or Church, and always open-door'd to every breath from Heaven—the dwelling place of Truth and Peace and Love and Justice.'

Literature and Art.—Although Akbar never learnt to read and write, he had an enormous hunger for knowledge. He sought to satisfy this hunger by conversations with the learned and through books which were read out to him. He had a most valuable library of manuscripts on all subjects. He had books translated from Greek, Arabic, Turkish and Sanskrit languages into Persian. Among the Sanskrit works translated were the *Atharva Veda*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Lilavati*—the last one is a treatise on Arithmetic.

His patronage of literature extended to writers both in Persian and Hindi. Among the Persian writers, Abul Fazl, the chief minister, and Faizi, his brother, are the most noted. Abul Fazl wrote a history of Akbar's reign called *Akbarnamah*, and an account of the institutions of the empire called *Ain-i-Akbari*. Faizi was the Poet Laureate, and he rendered the *Bhagavad Gita* into Persian verse. Nizamuddin Ahmad and Abdul Qadir Badauni also composed histories of the reign.

The Hindi language, which was growing rapidly, received a great stimulus in Akbar's time. The prosperity and the glory of the reign, the establishment of peace and of toleration roused the creative impulse of the speakers of Hindi. The two greatest poets of Hindi, namely, Tulasi Das and Sur Das, flourished in these specious times. Tulasi wrote the *Rama Charit Manas*, in which the life and deeds of Rama are extolled, and the ideals of piety and morality taught through the example of the characters in the poem. Sur Das composed numerous lyrics expressing the love of the devotee towards Krishna. Rahim, the son of Bairam Khan, who was a master of many languages, was no mean poet in Hindi. His didactic verses are deservedly popular.

Akbar highly appreciated music and he collected at his court many celebrated singers of the age. Among them Tansen of Gwalior was the greatest.

The art of painting also received a great stimulus from him. The Persian artists, among whom Abdus Samad was the most noted, taught their methods to the painters of India, and a new Indian style of art was developed by them. Daswanth and

Basawan were the leaders of this school. These painters were employed to illustrate manuscripts. The same tendency towards



Copyright: Archaeological Survey of India.
Buland Darwaza, Fatehpur Sikri.

the absorption of Muslim elements into Hindi art was encouraged in architecture. Akbar, who was a great builder, employed this style in the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri.

Akbar's Personality and Character.—Akbar is 'one of the greatest kings known to history. As conqueror, ruler, statesman and nation-builder he stands in the front rank of the world's great men. Called to the duties of a king at an age when he was no more than a boy, he had to fight against numerous and heavy odds. His enemies filled the whole country. He conquered them one after another, and built up an empire of a vast area extending from sea to sea, and from the mountains in the north to the plains of the Deccan. He showed qualities of the highest generalship in the planning of his campaigns and in the execution of his plans. He was bold, swift and resourceful, possessed of unlimited endurance and reckless courage, a self-confident spirit which never yielded to difficulty or despair. The magic of his leadership made heroes of his followers and companions. As a ruler and statesman his achievement is even more remarkable. He elaborated the organisation of an administrative system whose principles have lasted to the present day. This system established uniform and direct relations between the state and the people, and while securing the stability of government, ensured the welfare of the people.

But above all his claim to greatness is based on the initiation of the policy whose aim was the establishment of concord and unity among his peoples. Justice was one aspect of this policy, the creation of an Indian civilization combining the best features of the Hindu and Muslim cultures was another. He recognised the value of all religions, and not only desired that each community



Akbar Hunting.

From the *Akbarnamah*.

Reproduced from "*The Splendour that was Ind.*"
[By courtesy of Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co.]

should practise its own without interference from the others, he attempted to find a path which all could pursue together. The task which he set himself was harder than that of any other king and, although he did not attain success in its fulfilment, the attempt itself is worthy of the highest praise.

Akbar had a wonderful personality. He was a strong, well-built man of a stature slightly above the average. His forehead was high, and under his thin eyebrows his narrow eyes sparkled brightly. By nature he was gentle, kind and loving, but when his anger was roused the outburst of his wrath was most terrible. He possessed extraordinary energy, and his days were filled with restless activity, yet he was fond of meditation and spent hours in solitude absorbed in devotion and thought. He was simple and straightforward, though a master of diplomacy and statecraft. He was just to all men.

(e) **Jahangir, 1605–1627**

Jahangir was the eldest son of Akbar. He was a pet child on whom the father had lavished many favours. But the child had grown up to be a self-willed prince whose ambitions had made him impatient. During his father's life he desired to seize the imperial power. He instigated Bir Singh Bundela to murder Abul Fazl, whom he regarded as his enemy. He even rebelled against Akbar, but he was pardoned and a reconciliation was brought about between father and son. When Akbar died, the crown passed peacefully to Jahangir.

Jahangir did not possess the great qualities of his father, but he was quite an able ruler, and he had the statesmanship to follow the conciliatory policy laid down by Akbar. His reign, which lasted from 1605 to 1627, was, on the whole, peaceful, and its events may be divided into three periods.

The First Period, 1605–11.—Soon after his accession he made regulations by which the welfare of the people was promoted. He abolished tolls which hampered trade, built rest-houses, hospitals, schools and wells; forbade the use of intoxicants, and made himself accessible to all for justice.

Early in the period he had to suppress the rebellion of his son, Khusrau, in 1606. Khusrau fled to the Punjab and raised the standard of revolt. Guru Arjun rendered him assistance, but the imperial forces defeated his troops, and he was captured and put into prison. The enemies of Guru Arjun, among whom

was his own brother, brought charges of treason against the Guru, and Jahangir sentenced him to death.

The Second Period, 1611–22.—In 1611 Jahangir married Nur Jahan, who was the widow of a Persian nobleman, Sher Afghan. She acquired great ascendancy over the mind of her husband, and became the joint ruler of the empire. Her relatives occupied the highest posts of responsibility, and the emperor allowed them to conduct the affairs of the state. Among them Itmad-ud-Daulah, her father, and Asaf Khan, her brother, were the most important. Asaf Khan gave his daughter, the famous Mumtaz Mahal, in marriage to Shah Jahan and marked him out for the succession to the throne.

Of the military exploits of the period the first in importance was the war against Mewar. Shah Jahan was appointed to conduct the operations, and he forced Rana Amar Singh to sue for peace in 1614. The submission of Chitor brought the whole of Rajputana under the suzerainty of the Mughals.

In the Deccan, Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian noble, had succeeded in reorganising the administration and military forces of Ahmadnagar. The Mughal officers who were sent to the Deccan quarrelled among themselves, and allowed the Deccanis an opportunity to recover the lost territories. At last Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan was appointed to the supreme command in 1612, and though he inflicted defeats upon the Deccanis their opposition did not end. Hence in 1616 Jahangir himself departed for the south, and placed Shah Jahan in charge of the command. The rulers of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, realising the futility of the struggle, concluded peace. The fort of Ahmadnagar was delivered, and the Deccani Sultans offered tribute and paid homage to the Mughals in 1617.

The capture of Kangra in 1620 was the last conquest of the reign. Soon after, in 1622, the great fort of Kandahar, which guarded the road from Persia to Kabul, was besieged by the Persian armies. The dissensions at the court prevented any effective support of the garrison, and the fort fell into the hands of the Persians.

Plague.—In 1616 the plague broke out in the Punjab and spread over Northern India. It ravaged the country for eight years.

The Third Period, 1622–27.—Jahangir's health was rapidly declining at this time and the question of succession had therefore become acute. He had four sons, Khusrau, Parvez, Khurram

and Shahryar. Khusrau had been in disgrace since his revolt, and he was murdered in 1622. Khurram, who is known by his title of Shah Jahan, was the favourite of Nur Jahan till 1622, but in that year she gave her daughter, by Sher Afghan, to Shahryar in marriage, and began to favour him. Parvez, who did not show much capacity, was supported by Mahabat Khan, one of the most powerful nobles of the court, and an enemy of Nur Jahan.

The intrigues for power between these parties fill the history of the last five years of Jahangir's reign. The first to strike a blow for power was Shah Jahan who in 1623 advanced upon Delhi. But Nur Jahan was supported by the old officers, and Shah Jahan was defeated. He fled to the Deccan and tried to secure the help of the Sultans of the Deccan. He failed in this, and proceeded to Orissa and made himself master of Bengal and Bihar. Again he met with resistance from the imperial forces and was obliged to retire to the Deccan. Finding no prospect of success in his designs, he wrote to his father asking for pardon. In 1626 his rebellion came to an end and he was reconciled to Jahangir.

Nur Jahan now turned on Mahabat Khan who had espoused the cause of Parvez. She deprived him of his office and brought charges of corruption against him. Mahabat Khan, in despair, resolved upon bold measures. He seized the emperor while he was encamped on the bank of the Jhelum and made him a prisoner. Nur Jahan, however, proved too clever for him. She effected the escape and release of her royal husband. Mahabat was forced to seek refuge in the Deccan. Parvez died in 1626 and Mahabat joined Shah Jahan. Next year Jahangir, while returning from Kashmir, died near Bhimbar. His remains were buried at Shahdara, a suburb of Lahore, and a tomb was erected over them by Nur Jahan. On the death of her husband Nur Jahan retired from the world and lived a quiet and lonely life.

Jahangir's reign is remarkable for the great development of the arts. The emperor was a zealous patron of painting and an expert in the appreciation of pictures. The school of painting established by his predecessors produced some of its finest work during his reign. Among the painters Nadir Samarqandi's name deserves special mention.

The fame of the Mughal empire had spread to distant lands, and in Jahangir's time envoys came to his court from European countries. England sent Captain Hawkins in 1608 and Sir



The Birth of Salim.

From Blochet's "*Mussalman Painting*."

[By permission of Messrs. Methuen & Co.]

Thomas Roe in 1615. Roe was the ambassador of James I, who came to conclude a commercial treaty. Roe was opposed by the Portuguese, but he succeeded in obtaining some concessions, which, however, did not satisfy him. He returned to England in 1619. Both Hawkins and Roe have left accounts of what they saw in India. These are interesting but not reliable.

Character of Jahangir and Estimate of his Reign.—Jahangir was an able, kind but ease-loving king. He had a broad outlook on religious matters and practised toleration. He had a genuine desire to be just, and he attempted to keep intact Akbar's system of administration.

Jahangir's intemperance and his regard for Nur Jahan and her relations, however, produced evil effects. The emperor ceased to lead military expeditions and showed a disinclination for exertion. The result was that party factions grew among the nobles, and mutual jealousies and quarrels sprang up which weakened the empire. Jahangir's love of ease also affected the efficiency of the administration. The system of remunerating



Processional Scene at the Court of Jahangir.
(*Indian Museum.*)

the nobles by assignments of estates instead of payments from the treasury increased, the revenue from the Khalsa lands fell, while expenditure greatly expanded. The results were extravagance, inefficiency of administration, and oppression of the peasant.

(f) **Shah Jahan, 1627–1658**

Nur Jahan's intrigues in favour of Shahryar had failed, and on the death of Jahangir, Shah Jahan ascended the throne. During his reign the internal security of the empire was little disturbed, and the Mughal arms again became busy with the expansion of dominion.

The Rebellion in Bundelkhand, 1627–38.—Bir Singh Bundela, the favourite of Jahangir, died in 1627. His son Jujhar Singh, afraid lest the wealth acquired by his father might be seized by the royal officers, fled from the court and raised the standard of revolt in Bundelkhand. The emperor sent against him Mughal, Rajput and Bundela commanders. They captured Orchha, the capital, and forced Jujhar to take to the jungles, where he was murdered by the Gonds in 1635.

War with the Portuguese, 1631–32.—The Portuguese, who had been permitted to settle at Hughli and had received privileges for trade, began to abuse their position. They fortified the place, carried on trade in slaves, and made forcible conversions to Christianity. In 1631 Shah Jahan gave orders to the governor of Bengal to drive them out. Hughli was captured in 1632, and the Christians who refused to accept Islam were enslaved or put into prison.

The Deccan Wars, 1628–38.—The aim of Akbar's policy in the Deccan was the subjugation of the five Sultanates. He succeeded in annexing Khandesh, Berar and a part of Ahmadnagar. His son, Jahangir, made little progress in the achievement of this aim. Shah Jahan, who during his father's reign had held the command of the Subahs of the Deccan, gained some success. But the last five years of Jahangir's reign were disturbed, and the Deccan Sultans made use of the opportunity to reassert their independence. Shah Jahan resolved upon pursuing a vigorous policy. In 1628, Khan Jahan Lodi, an Afghan nobleman who had been governor of the Deccan, raised the standard of revolt with the support of Nizam Shahi ruler of Ahmadnagar. The Emperor sent an army to deal with the Afghan and his ally. In spite of their desperate opposition the imperialists pursued the rebels and defeated them. Then the imperial armies turned

against Ahmadnagar. In 1633 the last king of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar was captured, and Daulatabad fell into the hands of the Mughals. In 1636 Shah Jahan proceeded to the Deccan himself. The Qutub Shahi ruler of Golkonda submitted, promised to pay an annual tribute and recognised the overlordship of the emperor. Then the imperial troops surrounded Bijapur territory, and the Adil Shahi king was forced to acknowledge the emperor's suzerainty, and the boundaries of his state were clearly fixed.

The Mughal dominion in the Deccan was divided into four provinces:—Khandesh, Berar, Telingana and Daulatabad, and Aurangzeb was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in 1636.

The only enemies in the Deccan now remaining were Shahji Bhonsla in Konkan, and Beharji Shah Rathor in Baglana. The Mughals forced Shahji to come to terms and he entered the Bijapur service. Aurangzeb annexed Baglana in 1638.

The North-West, 1638–53.—In 1638, Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian governor of Kandahar, turned against his master, made over the fort to the Mughals, and entered their service. Ten years after the ruler of Persia laid siege to the fort, and the Mughal garrison, left without support, surrendered it. The fall of Kandahar was a great blow to the prestige of the Mughal empire, and Shah Jahan made three efforts to recover the fort in 1649, 1652 and 1653. Aurangzeb led the Mughal forces in the first two attempts and Dara Shukoh in the third, but the attempts proved of no avail. The three expeditions cost a tremendous amount of money; what was worse, they lowered the Mughals in the estimation of their neighbours.

War in Central Asia, 1645–47.—Shah Jahan was descended from Timur, who was a ruler of Central Asia. He inherited the desire cherished by the Timurides to obtain possession of their ancestral territory. In 1645 disputes broke out in the royal family of Bukhara, and Shah Jahan considered it a favourable opportunity of conquering Central Asia. He sent an army under Murad which entered Balkh in 1646. Aurangzeb was then appointed governor, and fought valiantly against the Uzbeks. But he found it impossible to hold the country and evacuated Balkh in 1647. The Central Asian adventure cost a great deal in money and men, and proved an utter failure.

The Deccan, 1653–58.—Aurangzeb had been Viceroy of the Deccan from 1636 to 1644. After him there came a number of governors who ruled for short periods, and were unable to

administer the affairs of the newly conquered regions efficiently. The country was decaying. The cultivated lands were turning into jungle and the population was declining. Naturally the revenues were diminishing, while the expenditure on the maintenance of the army remained high. Aurangzeb had to struggle against the lack of funds and the evils of bad administration. Unfortunately the emperor paid little heed to the requests of his son for financial assistance, and this fact added to the other difficulties of Aurangzeb, embittered the relations between the father and the son. However, Aurangzeb did a great deal to improve the condition of the Deccan. Murshid Quli Khan, his Diwan, introduced there the land revenue system of Akbar, with the effect that before 1658 cultivation had much increased and the revenue was enhanced.

Aurangzeb's relations with the Sultans of the Deccan were strained. The annual tribute was not paid regularly by the king of Golkonda, and the Mughals therefore demanded from him a part of the territory whose revenue was equal to the tribute. The kingdom was suffering from internal troubles. Mir Jumla, who was a powerful officer of Golkonda, intrigued against his king; and the king, who had been offended by the conduct of his son, had put his family into prison. The son appealed to Aurangzeb for protection. Aurangzeb, who was seeking for an excuse, marched on Golkonda and laid siege to the city. The emperor, who was dissatisfied with Aurangzeb, ordered him to raise the siege. The Mughals, however, annexed some territory, realised the arrears of tribute and gained the services of Mir Jumla.

In 1657 there was disorder in the Bijapur state. Aurangzeb, having obtained the permission of the emperor to put an end to it, set out to conquer Bijapur. Bidar and Kalyani were captured and the Bijapuris were defeated. But again Shah Jahan interfered, and a treaty by which the Mughals gained many fortresses and a large indemnity brought the war to a close.

Shah Jahan's Administration.—Shah Jahan was one of the most magnificent rulers of India. His empire extended over an area wider than that of any of his predecessors, and he maintained in it a peace which remained unbroken for thirty years. His revenue was larger than that of any previous king or emperor, and his treasury was filled to overflowing. The arts of India attained unprecedented development. He adorned the country with buildings of unexcelled beauty—one of them, the Taj,



Shah Jahan on the Peacock Throne.
From the Collection of Baron Maurice Rothschild.
From Brown's *"Indian Painting Under the Mughals."*
[By permission of the Oxford University Press.]

the great mausoleum which he erected over the grave of his beloved queen (1631-43), is one of the wonders of the world. His Peacock Throne, studded with precious stones, was a unique product of the jewellers' art. His workshops gave employment to numerous skilled craftsmen.

Shah Jahan is known as the *Shahinshah-i-Adil*, the just emperor. He took a personal interest in the administration of justice, which he dispensed with the advice of the learned in Muslim Law. Neither the great nor the small escaped punishment if they committed offences although some of the punishments inflicted were cruel and even barbarous. In one respect, however, Shah Jahan's justice suffers in comparison with that of his father. He was not as tolerant of the Hindus as was Jahangir or Akbar, and his reign saw the destruction of a number of Hindu temples.

He had a large army and his court was magnificent. Architects, painters, artists and writers added lustre to his reign. The splendour of India attracted European travellers to the country for profit and pleasure.

But, although India appeared wealthy and prosperous, the forces of decay were silently growing. It has been pointed out before that the strength of the state depended upon the efficiency of the imperial services and the prosperity of the peasantry in the villages. The laxity of Jahangir and the extravagance of Shah Jahan affected both.

So far as the imperial service was concerned, the changes tended to the decrease of central authority. The number of office-bearers (*Mansabdars*) increased, and their salaries were greatly enhanced. Akbar had attempted the system of cash payments to them, but this was found impracticable, and therefore their pay was given in assignments of land revenue. At first the assignments were limited, but in the time of Shah Jahan nearly seven-eighths of the land revenue was absorbed in meeting the salaries of the *Mansabdars*, and the emperor was left with the small portion of one-eighth for the affairs of the central government. Thus, little money was left for a standing army or for the improvement of the condition of the people. The empire depended largely upon the contingents of the nobles, whose loyalty was undermined by party factions and mutual jealousies.

The condition of the cultivators steadily became worse after Akbar. He had tried to establish direct relations between the government and the individual peasants. After him the old system of intermediaries grew up again.

The Zamindars, or tribal chiefs, were never wiped out, but new classes of intermediaries now appeared. The government and the great Mansabdars appointed farmers of revenue, that is, persons who undertook to pay a fixed sum to the government or the Mansabdar, provided they were allowed to collect the tax and to keep for themselves whatever remained after paying the revenue. Then a new method of assessing land revenue was introduced: the whole village paid a lump sum to the government and fixed the share of each cultivator, which was realised from him by the headman of the village. The amount demanded by the state was also raised. Akbar had fixed one-third of the gross produce as the share of the state. In the reign of Shah Jahan the share was one-half, which left to the villager nothing but the barest necessities of life.

The result of the change was that the pressure upon the villages was so increased that the peasants were impoverished. They began to desert their villages and much land went out of cultivation. Thus, in order to meet the expenditure of Shah Jahan, which had increased enormously, the peasants were ground down. The evil effects of this policy were far-reaching. They began to manifest themselves during the later years of Shah Jahan's reign, and they were responsible, more than any other factor, for the decline of the Mughal empire in subsequent years.

The War of Succession.—In 1658 Shah Jahan fell seriously ill after a long and prosperous reign of thirty years, and the question of succession assumed immediate importance. He had four sons, but each one desired the throne for himself. Dara Shukoh was the eldest. He was the favourite of the father, and at the time of his illness was in charge of much of the imperial administration. Dara was deeply interested in religious and spiritual affairs. He had studied the *Vedanta* and translated the *Upanishads*; but he did not possess the qualities necessary for a ruler. He had little experience of war, and he had not much capacity for practical affairs. The flattery of courtiers and the indulgence of his father had made him vain, ease-loving and weak. Shuja, the second son, was brave and intelligent but lacked firmness and statesmanship. Murad, the youngest, was quite incompetent. Aurangzeb, the third son, was undoubtedly the most capable of the sons of Shah Jahan. He had served in all the wars of the empire, and proved his capacity as a skilful general and a cool and brave warrior. He was a born leader of men and knew how to manage them. He was prudent, hard-working

and resourceful. As an administrator his ability was great, and as a diplomat he was unrivalled. Unfortunately his relations with his father had never been cordial. He was given the hardest tasks, yet received grudging support in accomplishing them. He was constantly censured and always suspected.

On receiving the news of their father's illness, the sons began to take measures to achieve their aims. Dara, who was with his father, was nominated by Shah Jahan as his successor. Shuja and Murad crowned themselves, but Aurangzeb waited. Ultimately he made alliance with Shuja and Murad, and the brothers left their provinces and moved with their armies towards the capital. The forces of Murad and Aurangzeb joined at Dipalpur, near Ujjain. Dara despatched Jai Singh to oppose the advance of Shuja, and Jaswant Singh that of Murad and Aurangzeb. The army of Jai Singh routed Shuja near Banaras, and forced him into Bihar. Jaswant encountered Murad and Aurangzeb at Dharmat. But Jaswant was defeated on account of the treachery of some of his officers, and he escaped to Jodhpur.

The forces of Aurangzeb now resumed their march, and crossing the Chambal arrived at Samugarh, in the neighbourhood of Agra. Dara gave them battle at this place, but there were jealousies and divisions among his supporters, and one of his chief commanders proved a traitor. Dara was no match for his brother in generalship, and his troops lacked the training and experience which Aurangzeb's army had obtained in his wars. The result was the complete defeat of Dara, who fled from the field of battle to Delhi.

Aurangzeb entered Agra and, placing Shah Jahan under restraint, assumed the imperial authority.

Murad, who showed resentment at the growing power of Aurangzeb, was taken prisoner by a stratagem and placed in confinement in Gwalior. Later he was tried and put to death. Aurangzeb now pursued Dara, who at his approach fled from Delhi to the Punjab, then to Sindh and lastly to Gujarat and Rajputana. He made a stand at Ajmer but was defeated again. Jai Singh chased him through the Baluch territory, but its chief Jiwan Khan, proved treacherous and delivered him to Aurangzeb. He was brought to Delhi, paraded through the streets, and executed.

Shuja, who had advanced from Bengal to contest the succession, had been defeated by Dara's commanders and had retired into Bihar. But when Aurangzeb assumed the imperial authority,

Shuja gathered his forces and proceeded to Allahabad. Aurangzeb offered battle to Shuja at Khanwah, and won a complete victory. Shuja was pursued and, after a great deal of fighting, driven out of Bengal. He took refuge in Arakan where he was assassinated.

Aurangzeb, thus having overcome all his rivals, ascended the throne and held a grand coronation ceremony in 1659. Shah Jahan remained in confinement in the fort of Agra until his death in 1666.

(g) Aurangzeb, 1658–1707

By defeating his brothers and imprisoning his father, Aurangzeb removed the obstacles which stood in his way to the throne. His success was mainly due to his ability, for many noblemen of the empire, whether Muslim or Hindu, recognised that he alone of the brothers was really fitted to undertake the onerous responsibilities of such a vast dominion. The difficulties which faced him were indeed tremendous. The Mughal administration was breaking down under the weight of its own extravagance. The pressure of taxation was ruining agriculture which was the principal source of revenue, and the peasantry was deserting the countryside because the profits of cultivation were seized by the state and the cultivator was oppressed and impoverished. Trade was hampered by the duties and tolls which were collected on roads and ferries and in bazars, and the exactions of the zamindars and officers threatened to ruin the merchants. On the other hand, the noblemen, who followed the example of the court, preferred to live in luxury and ease. They were beginning to dislike the rough and hard life of soldiers, and even their military campaigns were conducted with pomp and circumstance. They were neglecting their duties towards their tenants in their estates, and allowing the land-tax to be collected by farmers. The imperial service was becoming a hereditary nobility. The war of succession added to these difficulties. The loyalty of the commanders and officers was unduly strained, and their desire for personal security and power was strengthened. The authority of the government received a great shock, and the elements of disorder raised their heads on all sides. The disaffected chiefs, tribal and communal leaders and officers took advantage of the discontent among the peasantry to spread confusion and rebellion.

Aurangzeb's own temperament and the circumstances in which he came to power enhanced his difficulties. He had a cold and

calculating mind and narrow sympathies. His views on religion were strict, but he held them sincerely. His earnestness brought him into conflict with those who differed from him in religion or who took their religion light-heartedly, and it unfortunately encouraged hypocrisy. Aurangzeb's opposition to Dara had made him a champion of orthodoxy, for Dara was a liberal in religious opinions. The stricter Muslims naturally rallied to the side of Aurangzeb, and his policy had to incline in their favour.

The movement for reform among the Hindus had sought to purify Hinduism and to rouse the conscience of the Hindus. The aim of the reformers was to make the individual live a better and nobler life, and to remove the inequalities and injustices which existed in society. The sects which they founded gathered many adherents. Some of them faced the opposition of the state, which led to their transformation from purely religious brotherhoods to political communities which raised difficulties for the empire. Then, during this period, Hindu tribes, especially the Rajputs, migrated to new territories in the Gangetic valley, and their settlements led to local disturbances which the state had to combat. The general stir among the Hindus produced a new factor in the empire which ushered in a period of conflict and a movement for local independence. This was greatly aggravated by the policy and convictions of Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb's Reign, First Period, 1658–1682

Disturbances and Rebellions.—Aurangzeb enjoyed little peace on coming to the throne, and the first half of his reign was spent largely in suppressing the disturbances which were caused by the lawless outbreaks of the zamindars and tribal chiefs, the revolts of the princes and the risings of the Hindu sects. The work of extending the frontiers of the empire was also continued.

Among the most serious outbreaks were those in the provinces of Agra, Oudh and Allahabad. In the province of Agra the Jats, who had recently settled in and around Mathura, showed a most refractory spirit about paying the land revenue. Led by Gokala, they continued for ten years to defy the Mughal authority, and murdered the Faujdar of Mathura in 1669. Then at last the imperial forces were sent against them under the command of Mughal and Rajput officers, and the emperor himself had to march to the disaffected area. The rebels were defeated and exemplary punishments were inflicted upon them. In the course of quelling the rising, the temple of Keshavadeva was destroyed,

although the emperor took precautions to prevent barbarities towards the common peasants.

The Bais Rajputs in Oudh, and Hardi and other zamindars in the Allahabad district, spread disorder and set the imperial authority at naught. The emperor took revenge by destroying the temples. At Varanasi, which was situated in the province of Allahabad, the temple of Vishwanath was demolished in 1669.

In Bundelkhand, Champat Rai Bundela, who was in the service of the Mughals for a long time, rebelled early in the reign. Aurangzeb sent Mughal and Bundela officers in pursuit of him and he was killed. His son, Chhatrasal, had a chequered career. Sometimes he joined the imperial service, and at other times he deserted the Mughals and defied them.

There were other vassal princes, too, who gave trouble to the government but ultimately submitted.

Among the Hindu sects who transformed themselves were the Satnamis and the Sikhs. The Satnamis lived in the territories of Mewat and Narnol. They were mostly peasants and artisans. In 1672, disaffection spread amongst them and they rebelled. They gained some success against the local officers, but the imperial troops, supported by Rajput contingents, suppressed them.

The Sikhs, whose history is narrated elsewhere, had become by this time a political organisation. The Gurus had become hereditary rulers and had assumed royal pomp. Guru Hargovind had even attacked the imperial troops. His son, Tegh Bahadur, joined the Mughals, and fought for them in the Assam War, in 1668. But later, Aurangzeb's policy brought him into opposition. He was summoned to Delhi and beheaded there (1675). This infuriated his followers. War broke out between the Sikhs and the Mughals. Guru Govind Singh (1676–1708), the son of Guru Tegh Bahadur, and the last Guru of the Sikhs, organised them into a militant organisation and fought zealously for their security and independence. He desired to establish an independent principality of the Sikhs in the Punjab. The war which followed was a long and a bitter one. Aurangzeb's retaliation degenerated into the cruel murder of the sons of the Guru. Despite reverses, the Sikhs continued the fight. On Aurangzeb's death, Guru Govind Singh assisted Bahadur Shah in securing the crown, and accompanied him to the south. He reached Nander and was murdered by an Afghan in 1708.

Frontier Wars.—The Pathan clans living on the north-west

frontier had been a cause of trouble to the Mughal emperors since Akbar's days. They rebelled and plundered the caravans passing from India to Kabul, and cut off imperial garrisons. To establish lasting peace among them was an exceedingly difficult task. It had taxed the resources of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb had to undertake expeditions to put down their lawlessness. From 1667, when the first rising of Yusufzai Pathans took place, to 1679, the Mughal armies were engaged in fighting the tribes. At last success was achieved partly by force, but chiefly by paying subsidies and setting clan against clan. The frontier wars produced many harmful effects. They drained the finances and made the pursuit of a vigorous policy in the Deccan impossible. Thus Shivaji obtained the opportunity to strengthen his position before the Mughals could undertake a serious campaign against the Marathas.

Rajput Risings.—There were three important Hindu States in Rajputana—Marwar (capital, Jodhpur) ruled by the Rathors, Mewar (capital, Udaipur) ruled by the Sisodias, and Jaipur ruled by the Kachchhwahas. Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur had served Shah Jahan with great loyalty, but he opposed Aurangzeb at Dharmat. He was, however, pardoned and restored to high office. He held commands in the Deccan, fought against Shivaji, and in the frontier wars. He died in 1678, at Jamrud, near the Khaibar Pass, without leaving an heir. His followers left the post without permission and went to Lahore, where his queen gave birth to a son. Meanwhile, Aurangzeb had seized Jodhpur, and when the Raja's family reached Delhi, ordered that his son should be brought up in his palace, and promised to invest him as Raja, when he grew up. The Rathors became suspicious, and Durgadas fled from Delhi with the child. He was followed by the Mughal forces which overran Marwar. Jaswant's queen, who was a Sisodia princess, appealed to the Rana of Mewar for assistance, and war broke out between Udaipur and the empire. During the course of the war the Rajputs succeeded in winning over Prince Akbar, the young son of Aurangzeb, and placed the imperialists in a difficult position; but ultimately the Rajputs were defeated, and the war was brought to a close in 1681. The Rana of Udaipur submitted and entered the imperial service. Durgadas continued to defy the Mughals for a long time, but at last he too submitted and obtained a *Mansab*.

The Conquests.—On the eastern frontier of the empire were situated the principalities of Cooch Behar and Assam. The Ahom

tribes held sway over them. Their Raja seized some Mughal territory during the war of succession, and the emperor sent Mir Jumla to punish him. In 1661 he annexed Cooch Behar, and then advanced into Assam. The capital, Garhgaon, was taken and the Raja was compelled to sue for peace in 1663. There was some trouble in Assam later, but that was put down; and in 1667 the Mughals captured Chatgaon (Chittagong, now in E. Pakistan) and put an end to piracy in Eastern Bengal.

The Marathas.—When the Mughals began to extend their dominion over the Deccan, a number of Maratha chiefs entered their service; Shahji Bhonsla was one of them. He changed his allegiance later by joining the Bijapur service. His son, Shivaji, taking advantage of the war between Bijapur and the empire, raised an army and began to seize forts and plunder the towns. In 1660 Shaista Khan, the Mughal Subahdar of the Deccan, undertook to suppress him. He captured Poona and other places; but in 1663 he was wounded and was transferred to Bengal. Next year Shivaji raided Surat, and Raja Jai Singh was sent against him. He captured the Maratha forts and obliged Shivaji to sue for peace. By the Treaty of Purundhar (1665), Shivaji surrendered a number of forts. For some years the Marathas remained at peace, but in 1670, finding the Mughal troops in the Deccan reduced, Shivaji became openly hostile. He again plundered Surat (1670), and raided Berar and Baglana, and gained successes against the Mughals who were quarrelling among themselves. But the desertion of his son, Shambhuji, to the Mughals in 1678 weakened the Marathas, and they lost important forts.

On Shivaji's death in 1680, Shambhuji became Raja. He renewed the raids into Mughal territory, plundered Burhanpur and raided Aurangabad. Aurangzeb was engaged in the war against the Rajputs, and no effective measure could be taken against the Marathas. But when Prince Akbar fled from Marwar and took refuge with Shambhuji, the emperor was greatly alarmed. He brought the Rajput war to a close, and turned his attention to the Deccan.

Administrative Measures.—Aurangzeb's reign began in serious difficulties. They were the result of a bad financial policy and of extravagance. They produced agricultural distress and stimulated disorder. It was therefore necessary to reduce expenditure and change the financial policy. The life of luxury and wealth had made the imperial officials ease-loving, selfish

and corrupt. Some remedy had to be found to restore a sense of duty and of loyalty among them. Toleration had failed, so far, to create a higher sense of duty or of unity among the Hindus and Muslims. On the other hand, the Muslims had become lax in the observance of their faith. Aurangzeb, who was strictly religious, could not tolerate this.

His measures were directed towards economy, towards the prohibition of practices not permitted by Islam, and towards establishing a state regulated by religious injunctions. He curtailed the court festivities and ceremonials, and dismissed court musicians, poets, artists and historians. He tried to increase the income by levying enhanced taxes on the Hindu merchants, and by reviving the poll tax (*Jiziya*) on the Hindus; but at the same time he stopped the income from taxes on Hindu pilgrimages. He set a personal example of simple living by earning his livelihood by sewing caps and preparing and selling copies of the Quran. He appointed censors of morals and prohibited the use and sale of intoxicants. He took into service Muslim accountants and clerks to work along with the Hindus. He prohibited the building of new temples and the repairing of old ones. He demolished the temples situated in the provinces where Hindu risings occurred.

Aurangzeb's measures did not solve the two difficulties of public finance and discipline in the imperial service. The economic condition of the empire became worse on account of his never-ending wars, and his nobles grew more and more demoralised and less and less loyal. His religious policy also produced little effect. In the first place, it is doubtful whether from the point of view of the Muslim religious law Aurangzeb was right in levying *Jiziya* upon the Hindus. According to the provisions of the Muslim law *Jiziya* could be levied on those who did not serve in armies; but the Hindus were appointed as officers in military posts and served the Government in its wars. Secondly, his discrimination in taxing the Hindu merchants more heavily than the Muslims was unwise as it had a bad effect upon business. The employment of Muslims as accountants and clerks in the place of Hindus affected the efficiency of the offices and lowered the prestige of administration.

Nor did his religious policy which aimed at improving the life and morals of the Muslims have the desired effect. The Muslim nobility grew more lax in their manners and conduct and more luxury loving. Their loyalties were divided between the different

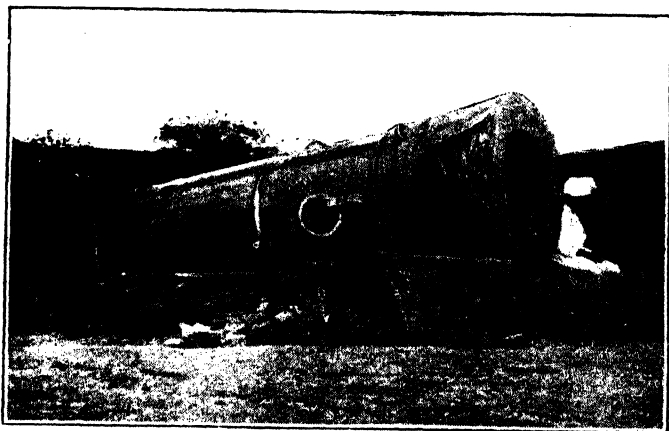
factions in the court and their selfishness increased, so that they were ready to sacrifice the interests of the state in order to gain their ends.

The evil effects of these measures did not become apparent in the first period of the reign. On the contrary, in 1681, his position was very strong. 'With every enemy removed from his path, the whole empire of India obeying his command, and wealth and culture increasing from the peace and order that his firm and vigilant rule had ensured to the country, Aurangzeb seemed now to have attained to the summit of human happiness and glory.'

Aurangzeb's Reign, Second Period, 1682-1707

Wars in the Deccan.—On the flight of Prince Akbar towards the Deccan, Aurangzeb determined to proceed to the south to put an end to the growing disorder which had resulted from the decline of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, and the growth of Maratha ambitions. He was so deeply involved in these operations that he was not able to return to the north during his life. He spent the latter half of the reign in fighting in the Deccan, where he eventually died in 1707.

The Conquest of Bijapur.—The emperor desired the king of Bijapur to help him in suppressing the Marathas, but he declined



Copyright: Archaeological Survey of India.
A Bijapur Gun.

to join the emperor and continued to support Shambhuji. It became necessary, therefore, to subdue Bijapur. Aurangzeb arrived at Ahmadnagar and laid siege to Bijapur. The Marathas

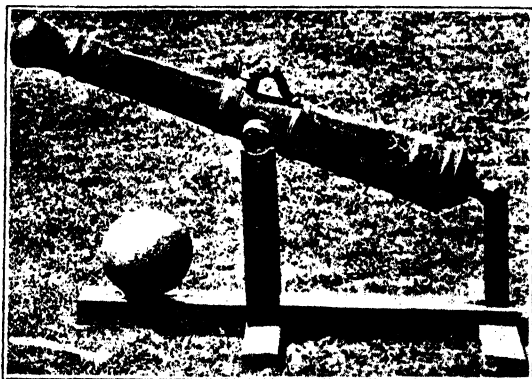
and the king of Golkonda helped the Bijapuris, and gave great trouble to the Mughal force by cutting off their food supplies. But all efforts to save Bijapur failed and in 1688 Sikandar, the last Adil Shahi king, surrendered the fort, and the kingdom became a province of the Mughal empire.

The Conquest of Golkonda.—The kings of Golkonda had, during the last fifty years, misgoverned the country. Abul Hasan, the last Sultan, placed the whole authority in the hands of two Maratha Brahmin brothers, Madanna and Akanna. They made an alliance with the Marathas, and although they openly maintained the attitude of loyal tributaries of the Mughals, they were secretly hostile to them. In the war against Bijapur, they gave active help to the enemy of the empire, and Aurangzeb therefore sent his forces against Golkonda. The murder of the Maratha brothers to placate the Mughals proved of no avail, for on the fall of Bijapur the emperor advanced upon Golkonda. Famine, pestilence and the intrigues of the commandant of Golkonda led to the surrender of the fort. Abul Hasan was taken captive and the kingdom was annexed in 1687.

The Maratha War.—Aurangzeb had hastened to the Deccan because the Marathas were rapidly growing in power, and with Prince Akbar in their midst they were a serious menace to his authority. He arrived at Aurangabad in 1682 and marshalled his forces against them. At first they gained no successes, but Shambhuji's follies and the general discontent and desertions among the Maratha officers gave the required opportunity to the Mughals. The fall of Bijapur and Golkonda set Aurangzeb free to deal with them. Shambhuji was wasting the wealth of his father in living a life of heedless pleasure. The Mughals seized his forts and captured him by surprise. He was paraded through the camp and executed in 1687. His son, Sahu, was brought up at court.

Aurangzeb's career had so far met with complete success. The Deccan was brought under complete subjection; and all India was united under the sway of the Mughal empire. But the tide soon began to turn. The Marathas, under their new king Rajaram, left the northern territory in the charge of his officials and took up residence at Jinji, in the Karnatak. In 1698, the Mughals captured Jinji, and then sought to reduce the hill fortresses in the Konkan. On Rajaram's death in 1700, Tarabai became regent, and she ably conducted the war against the Mughals. Although fortresses fell into the hands of the imperial

officers after prolonged and costly sieges, the Maratha captains laid the Deccan waste and their bold raiding expeditions spread



A Mughal Cannon.
(Loan Collection of Antiquities.)

havoc all around. The imperial contingents were cut off, the supplies of treasure and grain from the north were plundered, and the imperial camp was reduced to the greatest hardships.

The emperor's wars in the south hit the finances of the empire very hard. They drained the treasury of its accumulated wealth, and laid a heavy burden on the provinces. At the same time, his absence from the north threw the administration into the hands of slack and inefficient officers who oppressed the people. The Jats, whose rising had disturbed the country in the first period of the reign, rose in revolt again, and the example was followed by some Rajput clans. The roads were infested with robbers, insecurity spread and trade and industry declined.

The old emperor, overwhelmed with difficulties, despaired of success, and worn out in mind and body retired to Ahmadnagar where he died in 1707.

Aurangzeb and the Hindus.—Aurangzeb held strict and narrow views on religion. For him all faiths except his own were false, and he regarded it as his duty to promote the true religion. Religion laid down for him rules according to which the conduct of a sovereign ought to be guided in his relations with those who followed the same religion, and with others who followed a different religion. Aurangzeb attempted to give effect to these rules so far as circumstances permitted. The measures taken by him sought to create a system of government which the people of India had not known for centuries. It divided the people into two

classes; one which was regarded as the favoured class, and the other which was regarded as the tolerated class. This policy led to two evil results. Firstly, it identified the state with only one section of the Indian population which was in minority, and therefore made the other section, in a majority, indifferent to the fate of the empire. Secondly, it demoralised the Hindus who served under Aurangzeb, because their service ceased to be based upon any grounds of high principles, but on considerations of personal advancement only. It was impossible to build a strong and permanent state on the basis of inequality, and in adopting these measures Aurangzeb undid the work of Akbar, and postponed the creation of an Indian nation. But it must be remembered that the Hindus in general did not regard the disabilities imposed upon them as an adequate reason for a general revolt against the emperor. They did not make any open protest against them and seldom refused to fight on his behalf. In all the wars of Aurangzeb, whether they were waged against the Hindu sects or the Hindu tribes, Hindu commanders fought valiantly for their master.

In the imperial service there was a considerable number of Hindu mansabdars—Rajput, Maratha and others. The list of mansabdars who held the rank of one thousand horse and above during Aurangzeb's reign mentions 148 Hindu names. Three of them held the highest command, viz., seven thousand horse, four the next highest—six thousand horse, and sixteen that of five thousand. Among the first three were two Rajputs and one Maratha, among the second one Rajput and three Marathas, and among the third five Rajputs and eleven Marathas. These officers led their Hindu contingents to fight against Rajput, Maratha, Jat, Bundela, and Sikh chiefs and the Satnami rebels. For instance, Jai Singh led the imperial forces against Shivaji, Anurudh Singh Hada fought against Durgadas and Ajit Singh Rathor. Bishan Singh Kachchhwaha attacked and stormed the fortresses held by the Jat rajas, and joined the Mughal forces to quell the revolt of the Satnamis. Shubh Karan Bundela and Devi Singh Bundela were appointed officers of the imperial troops to destroy Champat Rai Bundela. Manohardas, a trusted officer of Aurangzeb, defeated Shivaji's attempts to capture the fort of Mahuli. Among Aurangzeb's mansabdars were Raja Jai Singh, Shambhuji son of Shivaji, Raja Sahu son of Shambhuji who held the high rank of *Haft Hazari* nobleman (seven thousand horse), and Rana Ram Singh a *Shish Hazari*. There were many other

Hindu officers of lesser rank. There was no general Hindu movement against his rule.

The people in those times regarded religion as a personal or social affair which had little to do with the public and political life of the individual. The Hindus did not form a single Hindu society or community, and religion did not bind the Hindus of different tribes and regions into one society. They were not politically members of one state whose commands they were obliged to obey and to whom their loyalty was due.

The Muslim attitude was similar. There was no single Muslim society or state of which every Muslim regarded himself as part. Each individual family or clan supported the king, chief or ruler whom he liked and as long as he liked. Personal interest and ambition were more powerful in the matter of service than membership of a religious community or state.

The fact is that a Hindu did not consider it improper or blameworthy to take service under a Muslim to fight against Hindus. Similarly a Muslim loyally served under a Hindu and was prepared to sacrifice his life for his master in a war against Muslims. Service was not affected by religion, and no stigma attached to such service.

Causes of Aurangzeb's Failure.—Aurangzeb's long reign of nearly half a century ended in failure. The empire rapidly grew weak and broke into pieces not long after his death. What were the causes which account for its decline? Aurangzeb possessed uncommon traits of character. He was brave in battle and cool in the face of danger. He lived a pure, simple and austere life. He was free from vice, was earnest and pious. His devotion to duty and work was remarkable. His co-religionists regarded him as a living saint. It is true his sympathies were limited and his distrust of others was excessive, but on the whole his character made him a highly efficient ruler.

According to some, his religious policy was responsible for his failure. In the main this is not correct. The Hindu risings were not successful, and they were not inspired by any common aims, whether religious or political. Aurangzeb suppressed them with Hindu help. The war against the Marathas undoubtedly strained the resources of the empire to the utmost. But the Maratha rising was not a national or religious but a local revolt. In its nature it differed little from the risings of the other tribes—the Rajputs, the Bundelas and the Jats. As for the Marathas the relations and kinsmen of Shivaji himself fought on behalf of

Aurangzeb against Shivaji and his successors. The Marathas did not in their raids exempt the Hindus from their attacks, nor disdain from employing Muslims to fight under their banner.

None of the Hindu uprisings aimed at the unification of the Hindu community much less of the entire people of India. The Marathas fought for Maratha supremacy and harried and plundered equally the Rajputs, the Jats, the people of the Doab, and Bengal. The Jats had no scruple in joining Muslim chiefs of Rohilkhand against the Marathas. The Rajputs fought the Marathas and Jats under the orders of the Mughal emperor.

No, the causes of Aurangzeb's failure were mainly economic and administrative—the ruin of agriculture, trade and crafts, and the inefficiency of the imperial service. The excessive exactions of the state impoverished the peasants, the decline of cultivation and luxurious living impoverished the noblemen, and extravagance, inefficiency, and continuous wars impoverished the government. The Mansabdars multiplied, but there were no jagirs to give them, and the jagirs which they obtained gave them no profits. The finances fell into confusion, the revenues remained in arrears, the provincial governors were slack in remitting the share of the Centre. The government had no money to repair even the forts. The introduction of communal and religious considerations on the recruitment and promotion of officers had a bad effect on the integrity and efficiency of the services. Aurangzeb was by nature suspicious. The Muslim noblemen were apprehensive and their loyalty was strained. The Hindu Mansabdars were not trusted with high responsibilities—governorship and independent command of forces. The Hindu feelings were offended by measures like *jiziya*, discriminatory taxes, breaking of temples and conversions. Besides the country was too vast, and the means of communication and travel too primitive to allow of the formation of a single economic and political unit. India was not yet ripe for consolidation on the national scale, and even the unparalleled energy and industry of Aurangzeb could not overcome the tendencies which divided the people. They were, indeed, emphasised during his reign.

(h) The Sikhs and the Marathas

The Sikhs.—The fifteenth century saw the rise of a number of religious reformers who sought to remould the Hindu religion. Among them was Guru Nanak. During his life (1469–1538) he preached a religion which laid emphasis on the unity of God, on

purity and devotion in worship and on moral life. He denounced the worship of images, the performance of outward rites, the pretensions of priests, the caste system and the ascetic way of living. He raised the moral character of the Hindus and justified the life of the world. His successors, Gurus Angad, Amardas and Ramdas, laid the foundations of the organisation of their followers. Gurus Amardas and Ramdas obtained the friendship of Emperor Akbar, which greatly enhanced their prestige. The fifth Guru, Arjun (1581–1606), compiled the Sikh Holy Book, the *Adi Granth*, made Amritsar the holy city of the Sikhs, organised a system of collecting income through agents known as *masnads*, and engaged in trade and traffic. His measures changed a religious brotherhood into a self-governing community. Guru Arjun's interference in Mughal politics by helping Khusrav led to his arrest and death.

Guru Hargovind changed still further the character of the Sikhs. He made them warlike by encouraging them to bear arms and to engage in military pursuits. He built a fort, assumed the title of *Sachcha Padshah*, and held Darbars. At first he accepted office under Jahangir, but then turned against him and was confined in prison. After his release he retired into the Kashmir hills, where he lived till his death in 1644. Guru Har Rai, his successor, was a friend of Dara, but he was a man of peace and did not interfere in political matters.

On his death there was a contest for succession between Ram Rai and Har Kishan, sons of Har Rai. Ram Rai was the elder and lived at the court of Aurangzeb, but Har Kishan was favoured by the Sikhs. As Har Kishan died young, the Sikhs acknowledged Tegh Bahadur as their Guru. He joined the imperial forces and fought under the Mughal banner in Bengal and Assam in 1668. Afterwards he opposed the emperor, was summoned to Delhi and executed in 1675. His son, Govind Singh, ascended the *Gaddi*, but for twenty years he lived in seclusion in the hills. He spent his time in study, meditation and preparation for his great task, which was to transform the Sikhs into a fellowship of the elect, the pure and the free (*Khalsa*). He declared himself to be the messenger of God who had come to declare a perfect faith, to extend virtue and to destroy evil. God was to be beheld by the eye of faith in the Khalsa. Every Sikh must accept initiation (*pahul*) and become one in the fellowship of equals. All social distinctions must be abolished. All should worship the One Invisible God, honour Nanak and the Gurus, revere the *Granth*, retain hair unshorn, bear arms and call themselves *Singhs*.

Having, by his religious teachings, attained the object of forming a warlike and democratic community, Guru Govind turned his attention towards the establishment of a principality. He built several forts, organised an army divided into bands under his disciples, and employed a body of Pathan horsemen. He tried to subdue the Rajas of the hill states, but his operations brought him into conflict with the commanders of the Mughal forces. Aurangzeb directed the provincial governors to proceed against him and he was reduced to great hardships. Aurangzeb summoned him to his court, and after some hesitation he proceeded to the Deccan. On the death of the emperor, Govind received a military command from Bahadur Shah to fight against the Marathas. But, while staying at Nander, he was killed by a Pathan in 1708.

The Marathas.—The Marathas are an ancient Aryan tribe who settled in the Deccan. The country of the Marathas is known as Maharashtra. It is triangular in shape. Its base is the Arabian Sea coast from Daman to Karwar, the perpendicular side is formed by the line along the Tapti river to Nagpur, and the hypotenuse by an irregular line which joins Nagpur to Karwar. It has three main divisions. The sea-coast below the Sahyadri is known as the Konkan, the Sahyadri tract as the Mawal, and the eastern plains as the Doab. The Marathas are mentioned in the inscriptions of Ashoka, and they played an important part in Indian history, for the Satavahana, Chalukya, Rashtrakuta and Yadava kings were rulers in Maharashtra. The conquest of the Deccan by the Turks brought the Marathas under the rule of the kings of Delhi, but after the disruption of the Tughluq empire they passed under the Bahmani kingdom. About the end of the fifteenth century the Bahmani kingdom broke up into five Sultanates. The Sultans of Ahmadnagar governed the territory inhabited by the Marathas, and the Sultans of Bidar and Berar also had Marathas among their subjects. About the beginning of the seventeenth century the Mughals appeared in the Deccan. The internal decay of the five Sultanates, and their mutual wars and wars against the Mughals, threw the whole country into confusion, and gave the Marathas an opportunity to acquire military power and political influence, and at last to assert their independence.

The revival of the Maratha power was due to a number of causes. In the first place the movement of religious reform in the south affected Maharashtra deeply. Pandharpur was the centre of this movement. Here was located a temple of Krishna (Vithoba) where pious and saintly folk assembled year after year. Jnandeva,

who was an outcaste Brahmin, preached here the doctrine of Bhakti, which appealed to all classes whether low or high. Other saints, among whom a number belonged to low classes, spread the new faith. The result was that a strong movement for social reform sprang up which stirred the whole Maratha community. The characteristics of the reform were similar to those initiated by Kabir and Nanak. The religious movement stimulated the growth of a literature in Marathi, and further strengthened the feelings of Maratha unity.

Secondly, the Deccani kings and Sultans encouraged the revival. They fostered the Indian languages. Marathi became the court language in Ahmadnagar. Then, from the time of the first Muslim conquest many Maratha Sardars had remained in possession of their estates. Later, the Bahmains began to employ them as captains and commandants. The Marathas became financial officers and clerks, and some of them rose to the post of the Wazir. When the Mughals extended their sway in the Deccan, some of them entered the Mughal service and obtained mansabs; others, however, remained in the service of the Deccani Sultans. The wars stimulated their ambitions.

The first half of the seventeenth century was a period of great stir and turmoil in the Deccan. The teachings of the Maratha saints had caused an awakening among the Marathas, and now Tukaram and Ramdas were exercising a powerful influence towards their social uplift. The wars of Jahangir and Shah Jahan against Ahmadnagar, the resistance of Malik Ambar and the final overthrow of the Nizam Shahis, kept the country in a state of unrest. The Bhonsla family, which rose into prominence at this time, made an effective use of the moral revival and of the political confusion. Shahji Bhonsla, who was a petty officer of the Nizam Shahis, obtained the jagir of Poona and Supa as a reward for his services. He fought valiantly for his master from 1631 to 1636, but was unable to save Ahmadnagar from falling into the hands of the Mughals. Then he obtained office under the Bijapur government, and was appointed to govern the territories of Bijapur in the Karnatak. The insubordination of his son led to his imprisonment in 1648. He was later pardoned, and was sent to the Raichur Doab to reduce the insurgents there. While hunting, he fell from his horse and was killed in 1664.

Shahji's rise from obscurity to the position of the premier Hindu officer of Bijapur was due to his great ability. He was the first commander to utilise the military capacity of the Mara-

thas and to show that properly led they were a match for the Mughal and Deccani troops. The rapidity of movement of the Maratha horsemen, their frugal and simple ways, their endurance and daring, and their knowledge of the country gave them an immense advantage over the hosts that opposed them. Shahji, however, spent his life in supporting the cause of his Deccani masters. But his son realised that they had fallen upon evil days, and their governments were suffering from internal decay. He therefore had no scruples in striking a blow for power and the establishment of an independent Maratha kingdom.

Shivaji.—Shivaji was born in 1627. At the age of nine, he and his mother were left by Shahji at Poona under the care of Dadaji Konddeva. Dadaji trained Shivaji in the military arts, and his mother filled his mind with stories of the heroes of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. He grew up in the company of the young men of Mawal. He led an adventurous life with these young people and obtained an intimate knowledge of the country. Fired with ambition, he gathered round him the Mawal youth, sons of the chiefs and of the peasants. They began to dream of power, wealth and dominion, despising the ordinary life of vassals and mercenaries of the Deccani Sultanates. In 1646, the Sultan of Bijapur fell seriously ill, the government was torn by the intrigues of its nobles, and its disruption appeared imminent. Shivaji took advantage of the opportunity, and in spite of Dadaji's entreaties and warnings, he captured the fort of Torna and the treasure it contained. The death of Dadaji in 1647 freed the hands of Shivaji and he began consolidating his authority. But the imprisonment of his father put a restraint upon his designs for a number of years.

In 1653, Aurangzeb came to the Deccan as Viceroy, and soon started planning the annexation of Golkonda and Bijapur. The hostility between the Mughals and the Deccanis gave Shivaji the opportunity to capture more forts and plunder the territory around. In 1657, Aurangzeb retired northwards, and Shivaji overran the Konkan. During the wars of succession he further expanded his territories and organised them into a state.

The government of Bijapur was now thoroughly alarmed by his activities. They appointed Afzal Khan to subdue Shivaji. He marched to Wai and invited the Maratha chief to meet him. The two met near the fort of Partapgarh. Both were suspicious of each other's intentions. When, therefore, Afzal Khan took Shivaji in his embrace the latter became apprehensive of his life

and pierced the howels of Afzal with his *Vaghnakha*. Afzal's death was followed by the rout of his army (1659). For the next three years there was strenuous warfare between Shivaji and the Adil Shahis, who were now supported by the Mughals. In 1662, peace was made with Bijapur through the instrumentality of Shahji, and then the Marathas had only the Mughals to encounter.

Shaista Khan was the Mughal governor of the Deccan. He had forced Shivaji out of many of his forts, and in 1663 when he was staying in Poona Shivaji made a night attack on him. It was completely successful. Many Mughal officers, including the governor's own son, were killed and Shaista was wounded. He was transferred to Bengal.

In 1664, Shivaji plundered Surat. It was time that serious efforts were made to put him down, so Aurangzeb appointed Raja Jai Singh, with a number of Muslim and Hindu officers, to proceed against him. Jai Singh was completely successful, and he forced Shivaji to sue for peace. In 1665, the Treaty of Purandhar was signed. Shivaji surrendered a number of forts, and was allowed to retain only twelve provided he entered the Mughal service. Next year he visited Agra and attended the imperial court, but he was dissatisfied with the treatment accorded to him. He was then confined and kept under watch, but he managed to escape to the Deccan. On reaching home he lived quietly and at peace with Aurangzeb, who granted a mansab and a jagir to Shambhuji, his son. Shivaji employed these years in making military preparations, and in 1670 declared war on the Mughals. The dissensions among the Mughal commanders made it easy for him to recapture the forts which he had lost, and to raid and plunder the Mughal dominions from Surat to Khandesh and Berar. He broke with the Bijapuris also, inflicted defeats upon their troops, raided Kanara, and annexed Baglana.

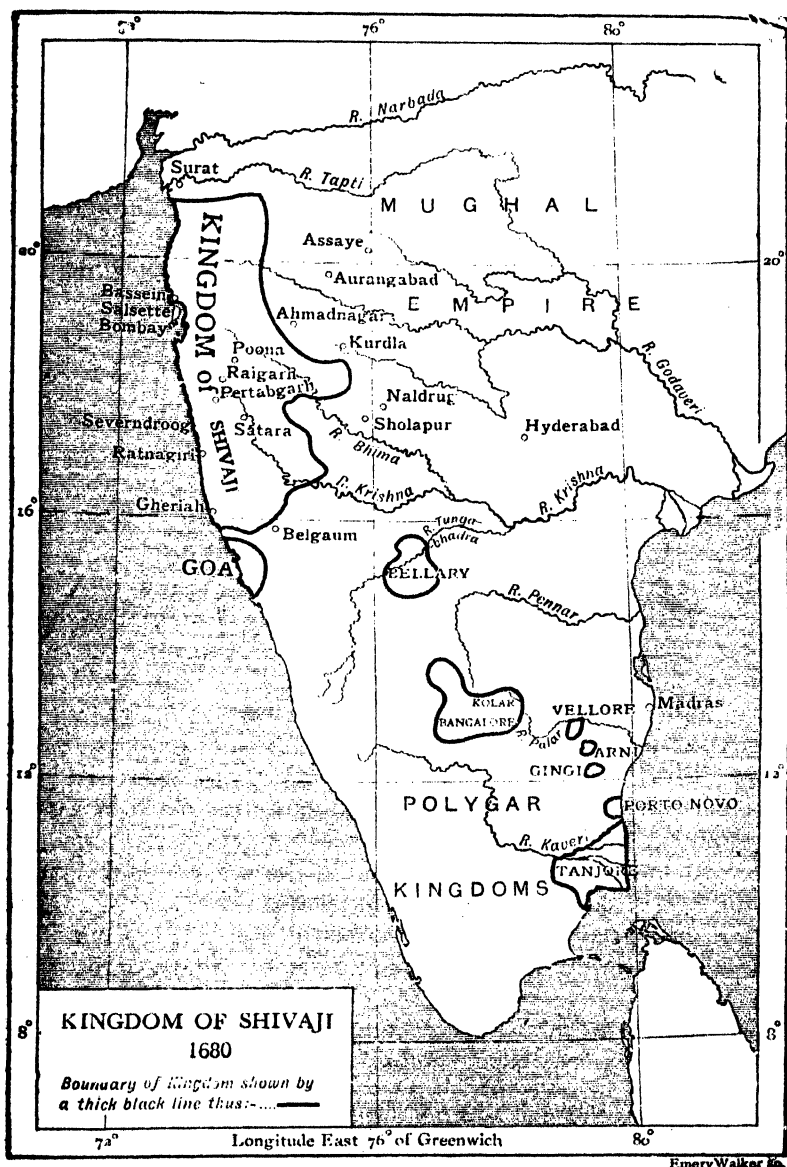
From 1674 onwards, the Mughals were kept busy by wars on the north-western frontier and in Rajputana, and paid little heed to Deccan affairs. Shivaji assumed the title of Raja, and a grand coronation ceremony was held in 1674, in order to proclaim his independent position. He made peace with Bijapur and Golkonda. Freed from the threat of serious danger from the Mughals and the Deccanis he led expeditions into the south in search of treasure. He annexed Kanara in 1675, and two years later conquered the Karnatak and captured Jinji.

In 1678, war was renewed with the Mughals, who were much encouraged by the desertion of Shambhuji to their side, and

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pressed their attacks with vigour. Shivaji replied by raiding into the Mughal territories, so that they were unable to gain any considerable success. While the war was going on Shivaji fell ill and died in 1680.

Early in his career Shivaji had become convinced of the need



of a Maratha navy to protect the coasts and to carry on trade. His organisation of a naval force brought him into conflict with the Siddis of Janjira, the Mughals, the Portuguese and the English. In the engagements with these, the Maratha naval officers showed much capacity and daring, but did not achieve any great results.

Extent of the Kingdom.—Shivaji's kingdom included the country from Daman in the north to Karwar in the south. On the east it included the territory from Baglana to Kolhapur, and the districts of the Western Karnatak up to the Tungabhadra river. This region was known as *Swaraj* (own kingdom) of the Maratha state, and was divided into three provinces—the northern, the southern and the south-eastern; each was under a viceroy.

Portions of the Madras and Mysore country were also under his sway. Outside these limits he regarded the neighbouring country (Mughlai) as subject to *Mulk-giri* or plunder and ransom. If these regions desired to save themselves from his raids, they had to pay *chauth* (one-fourth of the revenue paid by the jagirdars to the state) and *sardeshmukhi* (one-tenth of the rent paid by the peasants).

The System of Administration.—Shivaji established the Maharashtra *Padshahi*, that is, a monarchical state of the Marathas. It was also designated as *Hindvi Swarajya* (or Hindus' own state), that is, a state which identified itself with the Hindu community of Maharashtra. Its ideal, therefore, was similar to that of Aurangzeb's with this difference that in the Mughal Emperor's case the favoured class was the Muslim community, but in the case of the Maratha kingdom it was the Maratha Hindu. Neither ruler had any repugnance to the employment of officers and soldiers of the other community. In both instances the form of government was monarchical, and the powers of the ruler were exercised autocratically. Shivaji had no assembly of the people to assist him or to advise him. The whole authority of government was concentrated in his hands. He appointed the officers, issued orders in matters of administration, conducted wars and concluded treaties of peace. In judicial matters all appeals lay with him, and even in social and religious affairs his final approval was necessary.

He had an administrative council composed of eight high ministers known as *Ashta Pradhan*¹. Its members were (1) the

1. The Sanskrit names of the first six officers were:

(1) *Mukhya Pradhan*, (2) *Amatya*, (3) *Mantri*, (4) *Sachiva*
(5) *Sumanta* and (6) *Senapati*.

Peshwa or the Prime Minister, (2) the *Majumdar* or auditor, (3) the *Waqia-navis* or chronicler, (4) the *Shuru-navis* or secretary, (5) the *Dabir* or foreign secretary, (6) the *Sarnaubat* or commander-in-chief, (7) the *Pundit Rao* or head of the ecclesiastical department, and (8) the *Nyayadhish* or chief justice.

All ministers, except the last two, were required to perform military duties and command the armies. The officers' duties and functions were similar to those found in the Mughal and Bahmani kingdoms. In fact, the administration largely followed these models.

The Army.—The army consisted of cavalry, infantry and artillery. The cavalry had two branches, *bargirs* and *sillahdars*. The first were equipped and mounted by the state, the second had to provide their equipment and horses themselves. The supreme commander was called *Sarnaubat*. Under him were commanders of five thousand and one thousand. Below them were *Jumladars* for every five *Havildars*. The *Havildar* was in charge of 25 troopers.

The infantry consisted mainly of *Mawals* and was used for garrisoning forts and as militia. Its organisation was similar to that of the cavalry.

The artillery was inefficient, because it depended upon Europeans for the supply of guns and ammunition, and on foreigners for its personnel.

Each fort was placed under the joint command of three officers, and detailed instructions were laid down for the provision of stores and arms.

The appointments to all arms were made after a careful personal scrutiny by Shivaji. The salary of officers and men was paid directly from the state treasury, and payments were not made by grants of jagirs. The policy of using the army to collect booty and treasure, by raiding the lands adjacent to *Swaraj*, was systematically followed. The army rested in camp during the rainy season, and went out on *Mulkgiri* expeditions for the rest of the year.

Shivaji maintained the strictest discipline in the army, and punished misconduct heavily. The force under his command was an efficient instrument of his power. The army was open to all Marathas, without distinction of caste and status; it was well organised and highly disciplined; it obeyed one command; its officers and men lived a simple and frugal life, were hardy and brave and devoted to their master, whose genius inspired them

with supreme confidence. They could move about swiftly because they were not encumbered with baggage. They avoided pitched battles, and carried out rapid movements, surprise attacks, skirmishing and harassment.

The Revenue Administration.—Shivaji followed mainly the principles of Akbar in his system of land revenue administration. The area of land under cultivation in each village was carefully surveyed. The fields were classified in accordance with their fertility, method of irrigation and nature of crop. The share of the government was fixed at two-fifths of the produce, and could be paid in cash or kind. The government made remissions of rent on account of famine or damage due to royal troops, and made advances to the peasantry for payment of debt, purchase of seeds, etc.

The officers of the government dealt directly with the villages, and set aside all intermediaries like jagirdars, zamindars, farmers of revenue, etc. The policy of the government was to encourage cultivation and to improve the condition of the cultivators.

Character and Achievement of Shivaji.—Shivaji was a great man. His personal life was pure, and his conduct regulated by high ideals of morality. He was intensely religious, very fond of listening to recitals of the sacred books, but he was no bigot. He paid reverence to Muslim and Hindu saints, respected their shrines and scriptures, and provided subsistence for their holy men.

He was a great leader. His bold and fearless character, his energetic and adventurous spirit, his disregard of personal danger, and his courage in challenging the mighty appealed to his men who loved an independent and active life. He was a good judge of human character, and his selection of officers proved remarkably good.

He was a statesman of a high order. He organised a highly efficient army and an administrative system which secured peace and welfare to the people. He avoided the mistakes of his contemporaries. He was an astute diplomat and a practical-minded ruler in his relations with his neighbours.

He was a military genius. Not only did he create his military machine, but he used it with amazing success. He drew up the plans of his campaigns with the utmost care, and carried them out with a swiftness and assurance which struck his enemies with awe. His father first realised the value of the light Maratha cavalry, but he made it the victorious instrument of the Maratha State.

The Maharashtra *Padshahi* which he founded was, however, not an enduring structure. It concerned itself with the Maratha Hindus alone, and treated the remaining people of India as aliens, whose only purpose was to supply the gold needed for the Maratha state. It did little for the abolition of social customs which retarded the progress of the people, and still less to encourage trade and industry, which provide the basis of a people's power. It did not foster institutions which develop habits of self-rule among the population. Within its own limits, and during Shivaji's life, however, its success was dazzling.

Shivaji's Successors, 1680-1712.—On Shivaji's death Shambhuji became Raja. He was a good soldier but no statesman. He wasted the treasure accumulated by his father in useless expenditure, and he relaxed the discipline of the army. He took for his adviser a worthless man, Kavi Kulash, which gave offence to the Marathas. The follies of the Raja gave an opportunity to Aurangzeb to settle the difficulties of the Deccan. He annexed the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, and then attacked the Marathas. Shambhuji made no serious effort at resistance and was himself captured in 1689 and put to death.

Shambhuji's son, Sahu, was now acknowledged ruler, but as he was a child, his uncle, Rajaram, became regent. Rajaram roused the enthusiasm of the Marathas and organised the Maratha bands to harass the Mughal army. But his heroic efforts were of little avail. The Mughals took the forts in the Konkan, and even Sahu fell into their hands. Rajaram then transferred the seat of government to Jinji in the south, leaving his able Maratha captains like Shantaji and Dhannaji to carry on the struggle with the Mughals. Aurangzeb saw that the only way to put an end to their resistance was to capture Jinji and destroy the Maratha state, but the generals whom he sent to besiege Jinji were either incapable or disloyal. The siege was prolonged for seven years and it drained the resources of the empire. Jinji fell in 1698, but in the meanwhile the Marathas had recovered many of their forts in the Konkan, and Rajaram returned to Satara.

The death of Rajaram in 1700 led to a disputed succession. But at last Tarabai, the widow of Rajaram, succeeded in obtaining recognition for her son, and in becoming regent herself. She conducted the war with great ability and vigour. During the next few years, while Aurangzeb patiently carried on his policy of reducing the Maratha forts, the Marathas launched an offensive by raiding and plundering the Mughal provinces, and capturing

and destroying the convoys which brought treasure and provisions to the Deccan. The Mughals thus suffered a double loss. The siege of the forts was a dull affair which cost a great deal of money, but the money which came from the north was liable to attack and seizure. Then the treachery and incompetence of the Mughal commanders allowed the Marathas to rob and plunder the provinces, and to recapture the forts taken after great exertions. These circumstances broke the heart of Aurangzeb, who was now very old, and who knew that his sons were intriguing for power. In 1707, Bahadur Shah released Shahu from captivity, and his return to his home led to a civil war among the Marathas, which lasted till 1712 when Sahu triumphed over his rival.

The war with the Mughals, which lasted for over a quarter of a century, ended in the success of the Marathas and the exhaustion of the Mughal empire. But it brought about a great change in the character and organisation of the Maratha state. The excellent principles which were laid down by Shivaji disappeared. The Maratha monarchy was gradually replaced by an imperial government with despotic tendencies. The system of jagirs was established. The army which was predominantly Maratha became a mixed force without the discipline and regulations of its founder. The civil and revenue administration suffered from the fact that the state had two masters—the Satara Raja, who was a descendant of Shivaji and was the nominal head of the state, and the Peshwa, who became the real ruler. The officers were becoming independent jagirdars, and intermediaries appeared between the state and its subjects.

(i) The Advent of the Europeans

The Portuguese.—From time immemorial India had intercourse with the western world—western Asia, Africa and Europe—along two routes. The land routes led from India across the passes on the north-west to the countries beyond—Baluchistan, Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia. The sea routes were the highways of commerce along which merchant ships plied between India, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and to lands beyond. But in the fifteenth century the bold navigators of Europe discovered the all-sea route from the continent of Europe to India and the East.

The Portuguese were the first people in Europe to discover the all-sea route to India.

In 1498, Vasco da Gama, a native of Portugal, sailed around

Africa and was piloted across the sea from the coast of East Africa to India by an Indian sailor. The Portuguese came to India partly for trade—to secure spices—and partly because they were hostile to the Muslims and desired to strike a blow at them, for the Arabs then held the monopoly of trade in Indian seas.

The success of the Portuguese against the Arabs was rapid. Their viceroy, Almeida, established forts on the coast to protect the Portuguese factories, and defeated the Muslim fleets. His successor, Albuquerque, made the Portuguese masters of the coast from Hormuz in the Persian Gulf to Malacca and the Spice Islands. He captured Goa in 1510 and made it the capital of their dominion. The Portuguese dominated the waters of the East for nearly a century, but in 1580 the crowns of Portugal and Spain were united, and they lost their supremacy.

The Dutch.—After their union with Spain the Portuguese did not long enjoy the monopoly of the eastern trade. The Dutch, who were the enemies of Spain, sent their ships to the East. But although they made a number of settlements in India, their attention was mainly confined to the eastern islands where spices were produced. They turned the Portuguese out of Malacca and the islands. But from the middle of the seventeenth century, they had to fight a number of wars against England and France, which weakened them and obliged them to give up most of their factories in India.

The English.—The English defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588, and soon their ships began to visit the Indian coast. In 1600, some English merchants formed the East India Company for trade with India, and Queen Elizabeth granted it a charter. In 1608, Captain Hawkins landed at Surat and came to Agra to obtain a *farman* from the Emperor Jahangir for establishing a factory. In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was sent as ambassador from James I to Jahangir. As a result of his efforts, Surat became the centre of English trade in the East. In 1640, Fort St. George was built at Madras founded on land acquired from a Hindu Raja, and in 1651 a factory was established at Hugli in Bengal. Bombay was acquired in 1668.

In 1664 and 1670, Shivaji raided Surat. The wars of the Deccan, which absorbed the energies of the Mughal Empire, began soon after. The disorder which was produced by these wars led the English to entertain schemes of establishing political power in India. In 1686, they made an open rupture with the

governor of Bengal, but they were defeated and driven out of the province. In 1690, they made humble submission and were allowed to return. On the piece of land which was granted to them they founded the city of Calcutta. Thus the English obtained a foothold at many points on the Indian sea coast.

The East India Company had a chequered career in England. In the seventeenth century it passed through many difficulties. The establishment of a rival company in 1698 led to a struggle between the two for securing the monopoly of the Indian trade.



Shah Jahan receiving a European Embassy.
Reproduced from "*The Splendour that was Ind.*"
[By courtesy of Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co.]

After ten years of quarrel their disputes were settled, and the two companies were united in 1708. With unity came the opportunity for expansion and power.

The French.—The early efforts of the French to found companies for the Indian trade were not successful, but in 1664, during the reign of Louis XIV, the Grand Monarch of France, his minister Colbert created the French Company of the East. In 1674 Pondicherry was founded, and soon after a settlement was made at Chandernagar. After a setback the company was reconstituted in 1719.

Other Companies.—Other European nations also cast longing eyes on the rich commerce of the East, and made efforts to share its profits. But their difficulties in Europe prevented them from pursuing their designs seriously. Thus, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the English and the French were the only two European nations which were serious rivals on the mainland of India. Both desired profit and wealth, and were prepared to acquire them by all the means available to them. The rapid decline of the Mughal Empire, which set in after the death of Aurangzeb, gave them the needed opportunity.

The advent of the Europeans in India brought the country into contact with nations which were altogether different from the peoples of India in manners, customs, institutions, ways of thinking and living. So far, India had known only the Asiatic peoples, some of whom, such as the Scythians and the Huns, came here and became completely merged into our populations, or others who retained their distinctness of religion, but created a culture and civilisation which was common to them and to the people of India, such as the Muslim Turks. Both these became assimilated because they made India their home. They lived and laboured here, their children were born and brought up here, and their bodies found their last resting-place in the soil of this country. They had accepted India as their own country, for in departing from their native lands they had left them for ever.

Not so the Europeans. For them India became a land of toil and service, a land to which they came for profit and for rule, but not for permanent settlement and residence. Their business concerns and governments might continue, but the individuals were themselves merely birds of passage. They profoundly influenced the life and civilisation of India, but they did not become Indians themselves.

It is necessary to understand the ways of the new-comers, for with the impact of their civilisation started the great change which closed the Middle Age of our history. The countries of Europe were inhabited by free and united nations. Each nation formed a single community whose members were united by common interests and purposes. The ties which bound a people into a community, for whose sake its members were prepared to lay down even their lives, were not those of religion or loyalty to a tribal and hereditary chief, as was the case in India, but those of patriotism or love of a common motherland. Each nation had its own government whose authority was derived from the will of the citizens. The citizens were members of an independent nation and not slaves of a despot.

The citizens were free to think and free to act. They obeyed the laws in the making of which they had a share, and they obeyed the authority whose power was derived from them. Their minds were not shackled by the chains of tradition, custom and religion. They could freely discuss and criticise their institutions—social, religious, and political—and reform and remould them. They were not deterred by sacred books or priests from seeking the truth about God, man or nature. They had ceased to be ruled by dogmas and external authorities. They were free in their conduct, and free in their minds. Therefore their societies were free and progressive. In the atmosphere of freedom, arts and sciences, trade and industry flourished, and wealth and power grew.

2. The Decline of the Mughal Empire, and the Establishment of British Dominion, 1707–1818

The death of Aurangzeb was followed by the rapid decline of the Mughal Empire. As the authority of the emperor became weak, the governors set up independent principalities in the provinces. The Marathas extended their dominion and brought great tracts of India under their control. Ultimately, even the Mughal Empire came under their influence. The Sikhs and the Jats overran the country and defied the imperial authority. While the Indian rulers were engaged in mutual warfare, the foreigners appeared upon the scene and took advantage of these dissensions to acquire power. The invaders from the north-west who, taking advantage of the weakness of the Mughal empire, harried and plundered India in the 18th century had no intention to occupy the country permanently. The European nations,

however, interested themselves in the politics of the warring princes in order to establish their dominion. Among these, the French and the British were the two chief rivals. The British, who won in the struggle against the French, came into conflict with the Indian princes, but overcame their resistance by the close of the period.

The history of the period is divided into three parts. In the first part, from 1707 to 1748, the Marathas attained ascendancy in India. In the second, from 1748 to 1772, their advance received a definite check. The British overcame their rivals, the French, and acquired dominion in the Bengal and Madras presidencies. In the third, from 1772 to 1818, the British faced and overcame the rivalry of the Marathas, and put an end to the French schemes in India.

(a) The First Phase, 1707–1748

(i) The Later Mughals, 1707–1748

The death of Aurangzeb led to a fight between his sons for the throne. Bahadur Shah defeated all his brothers and became the emperor. During his short reign, he had to fight a combination of the Rajput states of Mewar, Marwar and Amber. The three joined together to defy the emperor, but by a mixed policy of force and conciliation the Rajput rising was quelled.

The Rajput troubles were scarcely over when the emperor had to face the rising of the Sikhs. Since the death of Guru Govind Singh, the Sikhs had accepted Banda as their leader. He collected an army in the hills near Sarhind, and attacked and defeated the Mughal governor. Sarhind fell into his hands, and soon the surrounding tracts were overcome. On hearing the news of the outbreak the emperor set out to crush the rebels. The Sikh leader had fortified Lohgarh in the hills, and had taken refuge there. The imperialists captured the fort, but Banda escaped in 1710. Desultory fighting continued for some time, and the slackness of the officers permitted Banda to reoccupy Lohgarh.

Towards the Marathas the emperor employed a policy which secured the empire from their depredations during his reign. He released Shahu from captivity on condition that he recognised the suzerainty of the Mughals, but he permitted him to levy *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. The release of Shahu led to dissensions among the Marathas, which prevented them from attacking the Mughal territories.

In 1712 Bahadur Shah died, and the usual contest for the empire began among his sons. The eldest, Jahandar Shah, defeated his brothers and ascended the throne. He was a thoroughly worthless ruler who was only interested in sensual pleasures and shameless revelry. The nobles of the court and officials followed his pernicious example, and disorder spread in the empire.

Farrukhsiyar, the son of Azim-ush-Shan, the younger brother of Jahandar Shah, was in charge of Bengal during Bahadur Shah's reign. On hearing of his father's death during the war of succession, he proclaimed himself emperor at Patna. Abdullah Khan and his brother, Husain Ali Khan, the leaders of the Barha Sayyids, were then deputy governors of Allahabad and Patna. They espoused the cause of Farrukhsiyar. Other officers and zamindars joined him and he marched to Allahabad. The forces of Jahandar were defeated at Khajwa, and the advance was continued till Farrukhsiyar crossed the river Jumna without opposition, and gave battle to the forces of Jahandar at Agra. Jahandar was defeated and fled to Delhi, but his chief ministers deserted him and he was put to death (1713); nor were the chief ministers spared.

Farrukhsiyar now became the emperor, and he rewarded Abdullah by appointing him chief minister and his brother, Husain Ali, commander-in-chief of the army. Mir Qamaruddin Chin Qilich Khan better known as the Nizam-ul-Mulk was placed in the supreme control of the Deccan with Aurangabad as his headquarters.

Farrukhsiyar's reign lasted from 1713 to 1719. It was distracted by the risings of the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Jats. Raja Ajit Singh Rathor of Marwar rebelled, but Husain Ali compelled him to make peace. Then Banda, who was defying Mughal commanders from the forts of Sadhaura and Lohgarh, was driven back into the hills. From time to time he came out and ravaged the Punjab. At last, in 1715, a large force surrounded Gurdaspur where he was staying. The town was starved into surrender after several months. Banda and his men were captured and executed with great cruelty.

The Jats, who lived in the country south of the Jumna between Delhi and Agra, were a bold and turbulent people. They had given a lot of trouble in the reign of Aurangzeb. Their leader, Churaman, had accepted service under Bahadur Shah. He fought under the Mughal flag against the Rajputs and the Sikhs.

Farrukhsiyar gave him charge of the king's highway from Delhi to the crossing of the Chambal. But he abused his powers and usurped much territory. Raja Jai Singh Sawai was sent to punish him. He besieged the Jat fort but could not reduce it. Churaman, however, made peace in 1718.

Farrukhsiyar had gained his throne with the help of the Sayyid brothers. But soon after, quarrels broke out between them and the emperor. The court consisted of noblemen belonging to a number of different tribes. Some were foreigners and others Hindustanis. Among the foreigners the nobles belonging to the Turani and Irani tribes were the most important. The Barha Sayyids were Hindustanis, for their ancestors had settled in the country between Meerut and Saharanpur several generations before. The Turanis and others were jealous of their influence, and they poisoned the mind of the emperor.

Open quarrels broke out. The first quarrel ended in the defeat of the Turanis. As a result, Nizam-ul-Mulk, their leader, was deprived of his governorship of the Deccan, and Husain Ali was appointed in his place. But the emperor was not reconciled to the Sayyids, and he began to plot against them. These dissensions led to the disorganisation of the administration. Husain Ali Khan, finding that he and his brother were in imminent danger of losing their power, marched from the Deccan to Delhi, accompanied by the Maratha forces. Before leaving the Deccan he had entered into a compact with the Marathas and promised to obtain for them the emperor's *farman* for the collection of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. Before Husain Ali reached Delhi most of the nobles had turned against the emperor because of his weakness and vacillation. The Sayyid brothers then made themselves masters of the palace and the fort. They deposed Farrukhsiyar and raised Rafi-ur-Darjat, son of Rafi-ush-Shan, a brother of Jahandar, to the throne, and then they put Farrukhsiyar to death. Rafi-ud-Darjat remained on the throne only for a few months. Then his elder brother, Rafi-ud-Daulah, was raised to the throne. But he, too, ruled for a short time only, as he fell ill and died. Then Muhammad Shah, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, was made emperor in 1719. During these short reigns the Marathas obtained the imperial grant for the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the Deccan.

The ascendancy of the Sayyid brothers was resented by the other nobles. The first to declare open hostility were Chhabila Ram, the governor of Allahabad, and his nephew Giridhar Bahadur,

but Chhabila Ram died, and Giridhar Bahadur was conciliated. The Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had meanwhile been appointed the governor of Malwa, fled to the Deccan and occupied Asirgarh, Burhanpur and Aurangabad. The Sayyids were alarmed, and Husain Ali, taking the emperor with him, marched towards the Deccan. On the march a Mughal officer murdered Husain Ali, and the emperor returned to Agra. Abdullah, who offered resistance, was overpowered and put to death (1720). The two brothers enjoyed the highest power for nearly eight years, and then the hostility of the emperor and the nobles led to their downfall and destruction.

Muhammad Shah, 1720-48.—On the fall of the Sayyids, Nizam-ul-Mulk became the chief minister. He desired to reform the administration and introduce strict decorum and proper procedure in the court. But the king was young, frivolous and under the influence of worthless men, and all the efforts of the Nizam were unavailing. The nobles quarrelled among themselves and the affairs of the state were neglected. The Nizam became disgusted and left Delhi. He retired to the Deccan in 1724. The attempt of the emperor to supersede him failed and the Nizam now became virtually an independent ruler.

Early in the reign, the Rohillas, who were Afghans of the country of Roh and had settled in Katehar (Sambhal and Moradabad districts), rose into prominence. They set aside the imperial administration, and under Ali Muhammad Khan they established a semi-independent principality (after 1740).

The Jats also raised their heads in rebellion, but quarrels among the sons of Churaman made it easy for Jai Singh Sawai to capture their fortresses (1722).

The Marathas, taking advantage of the growing weakness of the empire and the dissensions among the Mughal nobility, overran the Mughal provinces. They made raids on Gujarat, Malwa, Bundelkhand and Bengal.

By 1739 the Mughal Empire had reached a low ebb. The treasures accumulated by the great emperors had been squandered during the civil wars, the administration had fallen into confusion and the revenues were in arrears, and the loyalty of the Mansabdars had been undermined by frequent changes of rulers.

The contests of the rival parties of noblemen, and the Mughal campaigns against the Rajputs, Sikhs, Jats and Marathas had destroyed the old nobility. The efficiency of the army and the

tradition of devotion and bravery of the commanders were lost. From the emperor downwards the whole governing class had become morally degraded. Everyone had begun to think of his own security and interest, and few cared for the empire.

In this situation a blow fell upon the empire which shook it to its very foundations. Nadir Shah, who had delivered Persia from the rule of the Afghans, became king in 1736. He captured Kandahar in 1738, and requested Muhammad Shah to hand over to him the enemies who had fled into Mughal territory. The Mughal Emperor failed to comply with the request, and Nadir Shah invaded India. The Mughal government was utterly incompetent and had completely neglected the affairs of the distant province of Kabul. Both Afghanistan and the Punjab were left without any provision for defence, and the invader found the gates of India unprotected. The opportunity was too good to be lost, and Nadir marched rapidly across the north-west, capturing Kabul, Peshwar and Lahore on his way to Delhi. The Mughal Emperor attempted to resist the advance of the invader on the old field of battle of Karnal. The attempt ended in the ignominious failure of the Indians, because they were badly led and ill prepared for war. The Persians possessed better weapons, and their commander was a general of consummate ability. While the Persians were united in their aim, the Indians were divided among themselves, and their officers were jealous of one another and failed to stand together even in the face of a ruthless enemy.

After the victory Nadir Shah entered Delhi accompanied by Muhammad Shah as his prisoner. The people of Delhi passed through a most terrible time. For the misdeeds of the hooligans who killed some Persian soldiers, the city was given over to plunder and massacre. A huge indemnity was exacted. Then the invader, investing Muhammad Shah with the crown, left Delhi and returned to his country. The provinces of the empire, west of the Indus, were ceded to Persia.

During the years that followed the departure of Nadir Shah, the dismemberment of the empire proceeded apace. The Punjab became a prey to the depredations of the Sikhs and the Afghans, and the southern and western provinces were occupied by the Marathas, who raided the provinces of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. Saadat Ali Khan, the governor of Oudh, Alivardi Khan, the governor of Bengal and Nizam-ul-Mulk Asafjah, the governor of the Deccan, became practically independent.

(ii) The Marathas, 1707–1747

On the death of Aurangzeb, Shahu, who was a prisoner in the Mughal army under Prince Azam Shah was released. He made an agreement by which he promised to recognise the sovereignty of the Mughal Emperor and to render him military assistance, while his right to levy *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in the Deccan was recognised. On his return a number of Maratha leaders supported him, but Tarabai, the widow of Raja Ram, resolved to exclude Sahu from succession and placed her own son on the throne.

The opposition led to war in which Tarabai was defeated and Sahu was crowned at Satara in 1708. But the struggle continued and confusion prevailed.

Sahu was ease-loving, weak but generous and he was averse to exerting authority. He appointed Balaji Vishwanath, who beginning from humble positions had risen to high office, his Peshwa and left the reins of government in his hands.

Balaji Vishwanath (1713–20).—Balaji, who possessed high class administrative talents, set immediately to restore order. He made Poona his headquarters and brought under control the unruly landholders and chiefs. Village cultivation was encouraged, the system of farming out revenue was abolished. Robbery and lawlessness were suppressed. The state finances were improved.

Balaji had to deal with the Mughal governors of the Deccan. Fortunately, the Mughal empire was suffering from internal dissensions. The nobles were divided into parties which were contending for control over the government. In these conditions Balaji, an astute diplomat, took advantage of the rivalries of the nobles and the wars of succession to promote the Maratha interests.

He wanted to secure the guarantee of the Empire for the levies promised by Azam. But Nizam-ul-Mulk who was the governor of the Deccan (1713–15) evaded the demands. His successor Husain Ali (1715–18), one of the Sayyid brothers, found himself in difficulties because of the opposition of the rival parties and therefore he entered into treaty with Balaji. Husain Ali recognised the right of the Marathas to their territories in Maharashtra, Deccan and Karnatak and to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the subahs of the Deccan. The Marathas agreed to pay tribute and to furnish troops to the empire.

In 1719, Balaji visited Delhi and obtained the royal *farman* confirming the agreement.

He had now to organise the levy in the Deccan. He divided the Deccan provinces outside Maharashtra into districts. Each district was placed in charge of a Maratha chief who collected its dues. The chief thus acquired a special interest in bringing the locality under his complete control. But to maintain unity among the chiefs, firstly villages were assigned to several chiefs in the same locality, and secondly, every chief had assignments in the Maratha territories so that he might not lose touch with the homeland or break his relations with the central authority. Thus the collection of dues served two objects. In the first place, it enhanced the income of the Maratha government, and secondly, it brought the Mughal provinces under the grasp of the Marathas, and provided the great Maratha chiefs with opportunities of conquest.

Balaji Vishwanath died in 1720. His son, Baji Rao, who was a youth of less than twenty years of age succeeded him as Peshwa. The young man, however, possessed unusual qualities—great and untiring energy, unbounded ambition, and resolution. He was a good general, a strong administrator and a profound statesman.

He was faced with many difficulties. The Maratha chiefs and ministers of Sahu were jealous of him. He had to retain the confidence of Sahu, and defeat the intrigues of his rivals. Besides, the Mughal empire was dissolving and the Marathas had an opportunity to become the rulers of India. Baji Rao had, however, an enemy nearer home, namely, Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Mughal governor of the Deccan.

The task of conciliating Shahu was managed through trusted agents who did not allow the Peshwa's enemies to shake the Raja's faith in Baji Rao.

The Mughal problem and the hostility of the Nizam were tackled with ability and success.

Nizam-ul-Mulk, who after the death of Farrukhsiyar had again been appointed to the viceroyalty of the Deccan, had also obtained the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat. In 1724, he returned to the Deccan, disgusted with the state of affairs in Delhi. He now pursued his policy of destroying the Maratha power. In order to quieten their suspicions he acknowledged their right to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. But he tried to bring about dissensions among the Maratha Sardars, so that they could not levy the taxes. Baji Rao countered the Nizam's intrigues and pressed the Nizam to concede the claims of the Marathas. The struggle led to a fight in which the Nizam suffered a defeat at Palkhed in

1728. He was forced to recognise Shahu's claim to levy contributions in the Deccan.

Having secured his objective in the Deccan, Baji Rao turned his attention to the north. The Maratha government was in great financial difficulties and it had accumulated large debts. In order to replenish the treasury it was necessary to tap new sources of wealth.

Malwa, which was nominally under the Nizam, was distracted by the contests of the feudatory chiefs. Jai Singh of Ambar, who was intriguing against his Mughal sovereign and wanted to bring Malwa under his rule, invited the Marathas to invade the province. Baji Rao sent a large force under the command of his brother, Chimnaji Appa. The Mughal governor Giridhar Bahadur opposed the invaders. A battle was fought near Amjhera (1728) in which Giridhar Bahadur was killed.

After the battle of Amjhera Baji Rao entered Bundelkhand to support Chhatrasal against Muhammad Khan Bangash. Bangash was defeated and the Peshwa received a large jagir in 1729.

In 1735, the Emperor was forced to grant the governorship of Malwa to the Marathas. The Nizam who attempted to drive them out failed, for the Marathas defeated him near Bhopal in 1737. Malwa came under the full sovereignty of the Peshwa.

In 1737, Baji Rao crossed the Jamuna, plundered Awadh and marched to Delhi, but retired without occupying the capital.

Meanwhile Chimnaji invaded Rajputana and collected *chauth*. Other Maratha officers brought Gujarat under the Peshwa's control. Later (1751) Gujarat became a part of the Maratha empire.

An interesting development in Baji Rao's times was the naval war (1733) between the Maratha captains, the Angrias, and the Siddis of Janjira. But the Marathas failed to capture Janjira.

There was also a struggle against the Portuguese, and the Marathas succeeded in occupying the fort of Bassein in 1739, but could not drive out the Portuguese from their other possessions.

In 1740, Baji Rao died, and his son, Balaji Baji Rao, succeeded to the office. He continued the policy of his father. Two Maratha officers, Raghoji Bhonsla and Bhaskar Pandit, made repeated raids into Bengal, seized Orissa and Cuttack and attacked Murshidabad (1742-45). Another Maratha chief, Raghunath Rao, forced the Rajputs and the Jats to pay tribute, and Sindhia invaded Rohilkhand and Oudh. These expeditions

and conquests brought about a great change in the character of Maratha rule.

(iii) The English East India Company, 1707–1748

The union of the two companies in 1708 and the removal of their internal quarrels gave a great impetus to the progress of the East India Company. During the forty years after the union trade expanded, and high profits were earned. In 1715, the Company obtained a *farman* from the Emperor Farrukhsiyar by which the English were exempted from payment of all duties in Bengal, Gujarat and Deccan on payment of fixed sums. They were also permitted to acquire villages around Calcutta. In Bombay and Madras too they prospered.

But their business activity was challenged by the French who had established settlements on the eastern coast. The desire to expand their trade, anxiety about its security and the growing political distractions in the Karnatak roused in their minds the idea of obtaining political influence in the country.

It so happened just then that the wars of succession in the north loosened the control of Delhi over the Deccan. But the Deccan governors and their subordinates in Karnatak, desirous of assuming independent authority in their territories, were faced with internal quarrels, and conflicts with their neighbours.

The contest between the two European companies was at this time sharpened by the opening of a war in Europe between England and France in 1740. The officers of the Companies started planning to oust each other, and began to seek the help of Indian chiefs.

In the year 1740, the Marathas arrived in Karnatak, killed the governor Dost Ali, and took his son-in-law Chanda Sahib prisoner. The Nizam then appointed Anwaruddin the Nawab of Karnatak, but his appointment was resented by Dost Ali's relatives.

In these conditions hostilities began between the British and the French and Dupleix the French governor captured Madras. The English sought the protection of Anwaruddin Nawab of Karnatak, who advanced to recover Madras, but was totally defeated by the French. In 1744, the war in Europe ended in a truce, which did not last long.

(iv) The French East India Company, 1709–1748

The reconstituted French Company too had a prosperous time. Its governors were men of energy who made settlements at many

places on the Indian coast, e.g., Masulipatam, Calicut and Mahe. One of them, Dumas (1735–41), who ruled over all the French settlements in India, took advantage of the disturbed condition of southern India to interfere in political affairs. He helped the Raja of Tanjore in the war of succession and obtained Karikal from him. He also gave refuge to the family of Dost Ali, Nawab of the Karnatak, from the pursuit of the Marathas in 1740, and received a Mansab from the Mughal Emperor. In 1741, Dupleix became governor of Pondicherry. He determined to adopt the policy of Dumas, and by taking sides in the wars of the Indian princes, to make the French dominant in India. The Karnatak offered a unique opportunity for the realisation of these aims, for the Nawabs of the Karnatak, who were the deputies of the Nizam, were desirous of becoming independent and of extending their territory.

While the situation was thus uncertain in the south of India, war again broke out between England and France in Europe in 1744. Dupleix made use of this state of confusion. With the help of French ships from Mauritius, under La Bourdonnais, he made an attack upon Madras, which fell into his hands in 1746. The English appealed to Nawab Anwaruddin for help. He sent troops to restore Madras to the English, but the French defeated and scattered them. This was the first serious encounter between the disciplined troops of the West equipped with hand-guns and artillery, and the untrained Indian cavalry fighting with old weapons, and it decisively proved the inferiority of the latter.

The French were, however, unable to retain Madras, for the war in Europe came to an end in 1748, and they had to give it back to the English.

(b) The Second Phase, 1748–1772

(i) The Successors of Muhammad Shah, 1748–1772

Before the death of Muhammad Shah, the Mughals gained one last victory. Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had made himself master of Kandahar and Kabul after the death of Nadir Shah, invaded India. The Mughal forces gave the Afghans battle, defeated them and drove them out of India. This last triumph of the army, however, did little to restore the power of the emperor. Ahmad Shah, the son of Muhammad Shah, who succeeded to the throne, remained a puppet in the hands of his ministers, among

whom bitter party strife was raging. The Irani party was led by Safdar Jang, the nephew of Saadat Khan, who was the governor of Oudh, and the Turani party was led by Ghaziuddin Imad-ul-Mulk, a grandson of the Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf jah. Both parties sought the help of the Marathas.

Safdar Jang was the first to obtain power over Delhi. He came into conflict with the Afghans of the Doab, whom he subjugated with the assistance of Holkar and Sindhia. But he soon lost the emperor's favour and withdrew to Oudh, and Ghaziuddin became the all-powerful Wazir. He blinded the poor emperor and deposed him in 1754. He then raised Alamgir II, son of Jahandar Shah, to the throne.

During his feeble rule the plight of the kingdom became worse. Lahore had already passed into Ahmad Shah Abdali's hands. He invaded India again in 1756, entered Delhi and proclaimed himself king. Then he advanced on Mathura and Agra, but the outbreak of pestilence in the army obliged him to return to his country in 1757. He left his son in the Punjab as viceroy and appointed Najib-ud-Daulah, the Pathan chief, as the Wazir of the empire.

On the departure of Ahmad Shah, Ghaziuddin invited the Marathas to his assistance, and with their help recovered Delhi and his office. The Marathas, elated with this success, entered the Punjab, and drove out Abdali's officers from Lahore. They also sent forces against Najib-ud-Daulah and Shuja-ud-Daulah, the successor of Safdar Jang. In 1759, Ghaziuddin perpetrated another of his heinous crimes. He put to death Emperor Alamgir II, and placed another Mughal prince on the throne. Prince Shah Alam, who was the heir-apparent, had taken refuge with the governor of Oudh in order to escape his hostility.

These proceedings roused the hostility of the Afghan and the Irani nobles against Ghaziuddin and his allies, the Marathas. Ahmad Shah Abdali, on receiving the news of these occurrences, entered into a combination with the Irani nobles and marched at the head of a large army to settle affairs with the Marathas. He drove them out of Lahore and advanced upon Delhi. The Marathas collected a vast army to resist the invader, marched to Panipat and encamped there. In 1761, the great battle was fought in which Ahmad Shah completely defeated the Marathas, and then entered Delhi. He recognised Shah Alam as Emperor, but Shah Alam was engaged in warfare with the English in the east, and therefore Prince Jawan Bakht ruled as his deputy.

Shuja-ud-Daulah was appointed Wazir, and Najib-ud-Daulah commander-in-chief. The Maratha agents were temporarily driven out of the Doab.

Shah Alam, who had fled to Oudh because of Ghaziuddin's violence, joined the confederacy of Shuja-ud-Daulah and Mir Kasim against the English, but in 1764 he sustained a defeat at the battle of Buxar. He now became a dependent upon the English, who allotted to him the districts of Allahabad and Kara



The Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

The Emperor Shah Alam delivering to Lord Clive the Formal Grant.

Reproduced from *A Comprehensive History of India* by Henry Beveridge.

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in return for the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Shah Alam remained in Allahabad till 1771. He had little hopes of an immediate restoration, for though the Marathas had been beaten, the Jats were dominating the country round Agra and Delhi. At length Najib-ud-Daulah defeated them and saved Delhi from falling into their hands.

Meanwhile the Marathas, who had recovered from the defeat of Panipat, reappeared in the north. In 1769, their army crossed the Chambal. They exacted tribute from the Rajputs and the Jats, and entered into an agreement with Najib-ud-Daulah. Then they overran the Doab, captured the strongholds of the Rohillas and pressed upon Oudh. Shah Alam entered into negotiations with them, and leaving the protection of the English

returned to Delhi in 1771 in the company of Mahadji Sindhia. Here he found that his position as emperor was exceedingly irksome because of the power of the Marathas, who were now virtual masters of Delhi and its neighbourhood. He tried to shake them off, but his efforts proved unavailing, and he was obliged to accept their terms by which the Peshwa was recognised as the Commander-in-Chief of the Mughal empire.

(ii) **The Marathas, 1748–1772**

Raja Sahu died in 1748. He had reigned at Satara for nearly forty years. But during these years his own authority was nominal. The Peshwa, who was the chief minister in the council of the eight *Pradhans* established by Shivaji, was the real ruler of Maharashtra. The Peshwa's office was held by Brahmanas in hereditary succession. The other Maratha ministers and chiefs were jealous of his ascendancy. The first two Peshwas had maintained their position by their extraordinary abilities. Balaji Baji Rao, however, met with opposition when he assumed office. Of the important Maratha leaders, Holkar and Sindhia supported him, but the *Pratinidhi*, the Gaikwar, and Bhonsla opposed him. It was possible for them to weaken the Peshwa's authority because the Raja of Satara was still regarded as the head of the state and all commands and orders were issued in his name, and the ministers and officers dissatisfied with the Peshwa could use the Raja to issue orders against the wishes of the Peshwa.

On Sahu's death, without any heir, the question of succession became a matter of great importance. Balaji Baji Rao obtained from the dying Raja a written order which conferred on him and his family the post of hereditary first minister and empowered him 'to manage the whole government of the Maratha empire on condition of his perpetuating the Raja's name and keeping up the dignity of the house of Shivaji, through the grandson of Tarabai and his descendants.' This deed made the Peshwa definitely supreme, and from this time Poona became the real centre of Maratha power. The state was converted from a monarchy to a confederacy of chiefs, with the Peshwa as a permanent and hereditary president.

Balaji seated Ramaraja, Tarabai's grandson, on the throne of Satara and took the conduct of the administration in his own hands. He confirmed the jagirs of the great chiefs—Bhonsla, Gaikwar, Sindhia and Holkar, punished his rivals and appointed his own ministers and commanders. In this manner he consoli-

dated the government. These measures were opportune, because the deaths of Muhammad Shah, the emperor, and Nizam-ul-Mulk, in 1748, had thrown the empire and the Deccan into turmoil.

Ascendancy of the Marathas in the North.—The conflicts of the parties at the Mughal court gave Balaji the opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the empire. Holkar and Sindhia supported Safdar Jang, Nawab of Oudh, in subduing the Rohillas of Farrukhabad, and for their services they obtained the right to levy contributions in the Doab in 1751. When Safdar Jang fell into disfavour, they assisted Ghaziuddin of Hyderabad to gain power. Ghaziuddin, who became Wazir in 1754 was entirely dependent upon them, and so the Marathas became supreme in Delhi. Raghunath Rao, brother of the Peshwa, proceeded with the Wazir to the Punjab and drove out the Abdali officers from Lahore (1758). Holkar, Sindhia and other Maratha officers fought against the Jats and overran the Doab and Rohilkhand.

The Maratha activities in the north gained them much spoil, but also earned them the hostility of the Rohillas, the Jats, the Rajputs and the Nawabs of Oudh.

Wars in the Deccan.—In the Deccan the only rival of the Marathas was the Nizam. The death of Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1748 opened out an opportunity to gain mastery over the whole peninsula, for the inevitable war of succession divided the heirs of the Nizam. Nasir Jang, the second son of the Nizam, who claimed the viceroyalty of the Deccan, was opposed by Muzaffar Jang, the grandson of the Nizam. Nasir Jang was killed in an expedition in the Karnatak, and Muzaffar became the ruler of the Deccan with the support of the French. He, too, was murdered, and Salabat Jang was then raised to the viceroyalty by the French (1751). The Peshwa supported Ghaziuddin, the eldest son of the Nizam. The struggle between the two was long and memorable. The French and the Marathas performed great deeds of valour, but in the end Salabat was recognised as Nizam, but by conceding territories to the Marathas. His rival was removed by poison, and Salabat now ruled the Deccan with the help of the French under Bussy. The Marathas were thus prevented from the conquest of the Deccan by the intervention of the French, but they acquired the whole country west of Berar from the Tapti to the Godavari.

In 1754 Balaji conducted an expedition against Mysore, and collected a large booty. During the southern campaign of the next year he annexed Belgaum, Sholapur and Hubli.

In 1758 Bussy, the French agent, was recalled from Hyderabad and the Marathas again had an opportunity of humiliating the Nizam. Sadashiva, the nephew of Baji Rao Peshwa, was sent on an expedition against the Nizam. He captured Ahmadnagar and inflicted a decisive defeat upon him at Udgir. Salabat was forced to cede to the Marathas the provinces of Bijapur, Aurangabad and part of Bidar, with the fortresses of Daulatabad, Ahmadnagar, and Burhanpur (1760). While these events were happening in the Deccan, the Maratha chiefs annexed Orissa, Cuttack and Gujarat, levied contribution on the Rajputs and reduced ports on the coasts.

Thus, by 1760, the Marathas had acquired a position of dominance over India. From the banks of the Indus to the Coleroon, and from the Rann of Kutch to Cuttack, the Maratha arms were supreme, and the Mughal emperor was a puppet in their hands. The Nizam's dominion was confined within narrow limits and was threatened with total extinction. The pride of the Rajput, the Rohilla and the Jat had been humbled.

The Battle of Panipat.—The growth of Maratha influence gave offence to the Afghan and Persian nobility of the north, and when they drove Abdali's viceroy from Lahore his fury knew no bounds. He entered into a league with Najib-ud-Daulah, the leader of the Afghan chiefs, and Shuja-ud-Daulah, of the Irani party, and marched into India at the head of a large force. The Peshwa appointed Sadashiva Rao Bhao as commander-in-chief of the army, and sent with him his own son, Vishwas Rao, as the nominal leader, to oppose the invader. Under him was a contingent of artillery and disciplined infantry led by Ibrahim Khan Gardee. The Maratha chiefs like Holkar, Sindhia, the Gaikwar, and others were ordered to accompany him. Many Rajput chieftains, and Surajmal, the Jat chief, joined the Maratha army. Unfortunately the Commander-in-Chief was vain and arrogant. He undertook the expedition with a light heart and paid little heed to the advice of the experienced commanders like Holkar and Surajmal. Many of the officers felt that it was better that 'this Brahmin should once meet with a defeat.'

As a result of mutual jealousies and suspicions, the Marathas did not present a strong and united front to their enemies. The Jats and the Rajputs withdrew in disgust, and Holkar's support was not whole-hearted. The mistakes of Sadashiva Rao, in abandoning the swift Maratha tactics of war and adopting the slow methods of the Mughals, greatly handicapped them in the struggle.

They encamped on the field of Panipat and were harassed by the enemy, who cut off their supplies and reduced them to starvation. When, therefore, they could not hold out any longer, they offered battle in desperation. The Marathas gained an advantage in the beginning, but the battle went against them and the desertion of Holkar and the Gaikwar turned it into a disastrous defeat. Sadashiva Rao and Vishwas Rao were among the slain and thousands perished in the rout. The Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao, did not recover from the shock of the news. The defeat of Panipat and the Peshwa's death (1761) threw the Marathas into great gloom.

During the time of Balaji, the Maratha administration had made much progress. The collectors of revenue were brought under control, the courts of justice were improved and the police force was strengthened. The Maratha people enjoyed peace and prosperity, and blessed the days of the Peshwa.

Madhava Rao.—Madhava Rao was a minor when he succeeded to the office of Peshwa in 1761. His uncle, Raghunath Rao, conducted the affairs of government. Violent party feelings had arisen among the Marathas as a result of the defeat at Panipat, and they were intensified by caste prejudices. The uncle and nephew also quarrelled. At last Madhava Rao took the reins of government in his own hands, and appointed his own ministers, among whom was Balaji Janardhan, better known as Nana Phadnavis, the chief accountant. The Nizam declared war in order to profit by their quarrels, marched through Maharashtra and sacked Poona. But the valour of Madhava Rao saved the Marathas, and the Nizam was defeated on the banks of the Godavari (1763) and forced to retreat.

Next year he marched against Hyder Ali of Mysore, who had ousted the Marathas from their southern possessions, and defeated him in 1765 and again in 1767, recovering the lost districts. He also forced Raghoba and Bhonsla, who were intriguing against him, to obedience.

In 1769, Hyder Ali again took the offensive against the Marathas, and Madhava Rao at the head of his army moved towards Seringapatam. Although illness obliged him to return to Poona his commanders defeated Hyder Ali and laid siege to his capital (1771). Hyder Ali was forced to surrender all the former conquests of Shivaji, to pay an indemnity and to promise an annual tribute.

Since the battle of Panipat the Marathas had not ventured

into the north, but in 1769 the Peshwa sent an army which crossed the Chambal. They first collected tribute from the Rajputs and the Jats, then they reduced the whole of the Doab including Delhi. They entered into negotiations with the Emperor Shah Alam who was staying at Allahabad, and brought him back to Delhi (1771). They induced him to attack Rohilkhand where Najib-ud-Daulah's son, Zabita Khan, was ruling and overran the country. Thus, within ten years of their defeat at Panipat, they had recovered their ascendancy in the north. But the premature death of Madhava Rao at this juncture (1772) was followed by disputed successions and dissensions among the ministers and the chiefs, and the Maratha army was recalled to the south.

(iii) The Struggle between the English and the French, 1748–1761

In 1748, the English possessed three centres of power in India—Bombay on the western coast, Madras on the Coromandel coast and Calcutta in Bengal. These were the headquarters of the agents of the Company who were known as presidents and governors. Here the Company established institutions of government, municipal administration and justice on the English models. The turmoil which resulted from the wars of the Marathas and the Mughals in the latter half of the seventeenth century had led the Company to aim at the establishment of English dominion in India. Its efforts met with little success so long as the Mughal empires remained powerful, but in the middle of the eighteenth century the decline of the empire led to disorder and confusion all over India. On the western coast the Maratha confederacy was in full vigour up to 1772, and therefore the efforts of the Company's agents at Bombay to extend their power proved futile. But in the Karnatak and Bengal the fratricidal wars of the Mughal governors and noblemen gave an opportunity to the European companies to intervene in political affairs and obtain influence and dominion.

The first war between the English and the French ended in 1748. It did not alter their territorial possessions, but it showed how they could make use of the quarrels of the Indian princes to further their aims. Therefore, after the war was over, they maintained armies consisting of Europeans and Indians trained according to European methods, and sought to employ them in the wars of succession which broke out in the Deccan on the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1748.

The Second Karnatak War.—The French governor, Dupleix, was the first to form the ambitious project of making his nation supreme in India. He supported the cause of Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib, and defeated their rivals, Nasir Jang and Anwaruddin, both of whom were killed in 1750. Dupleix received as his reward an accession of territory and recognition as governor of India, south of the Krishna river.

The English espoused the cause of Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwaruddin, for the governorship of the Karnatak. The struggle brought Clive into prominence, on account of his capture of Arcot, the capital of Karnatak. When Chanda Sahib marched to recover Arcot, Clive bravely resisted the attempt and forced Chanda Sahib to retire. The British then captured Srirangam where the French forces had taken refuge. The war continued till 1754, but no one achieved any great success. But, in the Deccan, affairs took a different turn. Dupleix had sent Bussy to Hyderabad. He rendered assistance to Muzaffar Jang and after his death to Salabat Jang. He fought against the Marathas, maintained the power of the Subadar against the intrigues of the nobility, and for his services obtained a large territory in the Northern Sarkars. By his diplomacy Bussy dominated over the Deccan, and the French position was quite strong in the Karnatak. But in 1764, Dupleix was recalled, and his successor could not retain the influence which Dupleix and Bussy had acquired.

The Third Karnatak War.—In 1756, the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe, and the two rival companies took up arms against one another. In India the operations began in earnest in 1758. By this time the situation had become very favourable to the English. Their fleets were stronger on the sea, and could prevent the French from receiving assistance in money and men from Europe, and the successes of Clive in Bengal enabled the English to support their forces in the Karnatak with funds. The inferiority of the French in naval power, and their lack of funds in India, were great handicaps.

The French sent Lally to command their settlements and forces. He was a daring and brave officer, but hasty and violent. He was unable to secure co-ordination in the efforts of the French army and navy, and the civil and military officers. All his attempts to capture Madras failed. He recalled Bussy from Hyderabad, and French influence in the Deccan disappeared. The English troops sent from Bengal captured Masulipatam, and their fleet defeated the French on the sea. In 1760, Eyre Coote,

the English commander, inflicted a severe defeat on Lally, taking Bussy prisoner. In 1761, Pondicherry surrendered, and then all the other settlements belonging to the French fell into the hands of the English. When the Peace of Paris concluded the Seven Years' War (1763), Pondicherry was restored but without its fortifications. The English thus triumphed over their rivals in Southern India.

(iv) **The English in Bengal, 1748-1772**

The invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 had given a great shock to the Mughal empire. Alivardi Khan, who was an officer serving under the governor of Bihar, overthrew his master and made himself the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1739. He resisted the attacks of the Marathas on Bengal successfully, although Cuttack remained in their hands. But his rule was disturbed by the insurrections of his own treacherous officers and relations, among whom were Mir Jafar, his general, and Mir Habib and Mustafa Khan. By 1751, however, he had secured peace from external and internal foes, and henceforth his reign was quiet and prosperous. He died in 1756, and Siraj-ud-Daulah became the Nawab of the province.

The English had built Fort William (Calcutta), their chief settlement in Bengal, on the land granted by Aurangzeb. Their trade had flourished and Calcutta had become a large town. The disturbed condition of Bengal, caused by the incursions of the Marathas and the rebellions of the officers, could not escape their attention. The presence of the French at Chandernagar was a source of danger, as the war between the French and the English in the Karnatak was bound to lead to hostilities between them in Bengal. The English, therefore, extended the fortifications of Calcutta, even against the orders of the Nawab. They further annoyed him by courting the favour of his rivals and giving protection to his men.

The Conquest of Bengal.—Siraj-ud-Daulah was suspicious of the English for many reasons. They had not treated him with courtesy. They had abused their privileges and had harboured the refugees from his justice. Besides, the English governor's conduct had been provocative. The fortification of Calcutta convinced him that the English desired to behave in Bengal in the same aggressive manner as they had done in the Karnatak. He resolved to put an end to such schemes, and on assuming office seized Kasimbazar. He then marched upon Calcutta and

captured it, after the governor, the commandant and others had deserted it. So far Siraj-ud-Daulah had met with complete success against his enemies—his rivals to the throne and the English.

When the news of the disaster reached Madras, the English sent Clive to Bengal at the head of an expedition. He sailed up the Hugli and recovered Calcutta (1757). Then a treaty was made with the Nawab by which the privileges of the Company were restored. The terms of the treaty were kept by the English only so far as they suited their interests. They violated the sovereignty of the Nawab by attacking and seizing Chandernagar, they bribed most of Siraj-ud-Daulah's officers including Mir Jafar, the Commander-in-Chief of the army, and Nanda Kumar, the Faujdar of Hugli, through the perfidious Omi Chand. They conspired with the treacherous Mir Jafar for the deposition of the Nawab and for effecting a revolution in the government. He was promised the viceroyalty of Bengal if he complied with their conditions regarding the grant of territories, the privileges of trade and the payment of a large sum to compensate their losses.

When the arrangements were completed, the peace was broken and Clive marched from Calcutta to Plassey, twenty miles from Murshidabad. Siraj-ud-Daulah gave battle to the English, but his officers betrayed him. Mir Jafar stood aloof from the conflict because he was in league with the enemy. Only Mohanlal and Mir Madan and a French officer took part in the battle. Unfortunately Mir Madan was killed and Siraj-ud-Daulah lost his nerve. The battle was lost although little blood was shed, and Siraj-ud-Daulah fled to Murshidabad. He was caught and put to death, and Mir Jafar was seated on the *Masnad*.

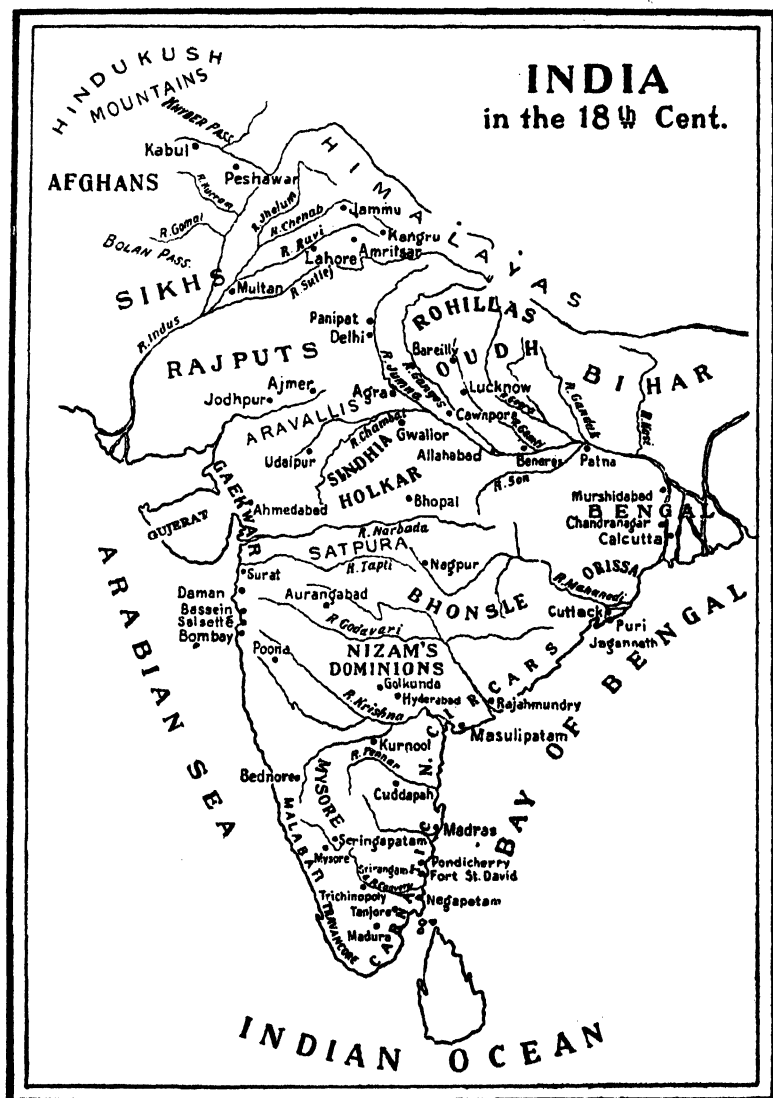
The battle of Plassey (1757) was one of the decisive battles of our history. It sounded the death-knell of mediaeval India. It was a battle between the modern ideals of nationalism and mediaeval sentiments of personal loyalty and tribal sympathies. Plassey was a victory, not for superior arms or better tactics or greater bravery, but for a higher type of social organisation.

The result of the battle was that the English became the virtual masters of Bengal. The governor became eventually a puppet in their hands, and the rich resources of the provinces passed under their control. The funds and troops of Bengal enabled the English to defeat the French who were contending with them for supremacy in the south. They also defeated the Dutch, who

attempted to oust them from Bengal in conspiracy with Mir Jafar whom the exactions of the English had made desperate.

War with Mir Kasim.—In 1760, Clive sailed for England. Vansittart, who succeeded Clive, deposed Mir Jafar and set up Mir Kasim, the son-in-law of Mir Jafar, as Nawab. But quarrels immediately began between the new Nawab and the English. Of their causes the most important was that of the internal trade of the province. The East India Company had acquired the right of trading in Bengal without the payment of transit dues or tolls. But the Company's servants also demanded complete exemption from duties on their trade. The Nawab considered the demand unjust because it dried up one of the sources of public revenue, and led to the ill-treatment of the officers, servants and subjects of the Nawab by the orders of the English traders. Then again Ellis, the English agent at Patna, who was a man of violent temper, did everything to exasperate the Nawab. The quarrels led to war. Mir Kasim left Bengal, entered into a confederacy with Shuja-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, and Shah Alam, the emperor, and attempted to drive the English out of Bengal. But the armies of the allies suffered a complete defeat at the hands of Hector Munro at Buxar in 1764. Mir Kasim disappeared, Shuja-ud-Daulah took refuge in Rohilkhand, and Shah Alam joined the English camp. The English had meanwhile restored Mir Jafar at Murshidabad, and on his death in 1765, his son Najm-ud-Daulah was recognised as Nawab. But the Nawab was now reduced to a mere figurehead.

The Second Governorship of Clive.—At this juncture Clive came back a second time as Governor of Bengal (1765). He had to settle the relations of the English with the Emperor, the Nawab of Oudh and the Nawab of Bengal. He had also to reorganise the system of administration, which had become infected with abuses. He restored to the Nawab of Oudh his dominions, except Allahabad and the surrounding districts, on payment of fifty lakhs of rupees, but virtually made him a dependent of the Company. He obtained from the Emperor the grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by bestowing on him the districts of Allahabad and Kara, and agreeing to pay a tribute of twenty-six lakhs of rupees a year. He secured the control of the finances of the provinces directly for the Company, but left the government to the Nawab of Bengal. He entrusted the collection of the revenues to two *Naib Diwans*, Muhammad Raza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai.



The removal of the abuses in the administration of the Company was a difficult matter. All the servants of the Company, from the highest to the lowest, were corrupt. Their salaries were low and they were permitted to engage in private trade. Clive attempted to put an end to the private trade and the illegal receipts. He also made an effort to enhance the salaries by regulating the

internal trade and using its profits for this purpose. The military officers created some trouble when their field allowance, known as Double Bhatta, was cut down, but Clive boldly quelled it and punished the offenders.

Clive left India in 1767. He was the founder of the English dominion in India. He was a man of strong will and unflinching determination. He was brave in the face of danger, and capable of inspiring confidence among his followers. He did not possess strong moral scruples, and he was not above making a fortune for himself. But he had a clear understanding, and he made skilful use of his opportunities in the complicated conditions of India.

After the departure of Clive, Bengal passed through five terrible years of dual government, during which neither the government of the nominal Nawab nor the officers of the Company did anything for the poor inhabitants of this distracted province. The Company was anxious only to make profits, while the Nawab was helpless, because although the maintenance of peace and order was in his charge, both the army and the finances were under the control of the English. The dual system of government left all the power in the hands of the Company without making it responsible for the welfare of the people, while the Nawab had responsibilities which he could not discharge because he was powerless.

The misrule and drain of wealth impoverished Bengal, and in 1770, it suffered from a terrible famine which swept away one-third of its population. Nor did the affairs of the English prosper, for political confusion affected the trade of the Company.

(c) The Third Phase, 1772–1818

(i) The Nominal Emperors of Delhi, 1772–1818

In 1772, Shah Alam returned to Delhi under the protection of the Marathas. The empire now existed only in name, for it did not extend much beyond Delhi and Agra. All the outlying provinces had become independent, although their rulers recognised the nominal suzerainty of the Emperor. Even in the Doab, the eastern parts were under the control of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and Rohilkhand was under the Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rahmat Khan. The Punjab was being overrun by the Sikhs, while the Jats pressed from the south. In the territories under the Emperor, his authority was limited, for he had no

forces of his own for their defence and for the maintenance of order. He depended upon the Marathas or other chiefs.

From 1772 to 1788, the internal affairs of the court of Delhi centre upon the intrigues of the different nobles to obtain the office of the deputy wazir. Sometimes one, and at other times another, succeeded in holding it. In these intrigues the Marathas, the Jats, the Rohillas and the Viceroy of Oudh took a prominent part. Their petty wars and quarrels fill the history of these years. After the return of Shah Alam, the Marathas were soon obliged to leave the north on account of their internal difficulties in the Deccan. Mirza Najaf Khan obtained the charge of affairs at Delhi. Shuja-ud-Daulah had the ambition of ruling over the whole of the northern Gangetic plain and depriving the Rohillas and Pathans of Farrukhabad and other territories. He succeeded in gaining the support of the English and when the Marathas had left for the south, he invaded Rohilkhand, aided by the English force, to crush the Rohillas. The allied forces defeated and slew Hafiz Rahmat Khan at Miranpur Katra in 1774. Next year, Najaf turned his attention to the Jats, and not only crushed them in battle, but captured their most important fortresses including Dig.

The death of Shuja-ud-Daulah in 1775, and of Najaf Khan in 1782, deprived the empire of its strongest supporters. Quarrels for power broke out among the relations of Najaf, and their violent conduct frightened the Emperor and his heir, Prince Jawan Bakht. The Prince attempted to obtain the protection of the English, but the Emperor appealed to Mahadji Sindhia. In 1785, Mahadji entered Delhi and established his authority over the court. But the measures which he took for the restoration of order annoyed the old Mughal nobility. They formed a combination with the Rajputs, and sought the help of Ghulam Qadir, son of Zabita Khan and grandson of Najib-ud-Daulah, the Pathan chief of Bawani Mahal (Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar districts). This made Mahadji's position very difficult. The Rajputs threatened him from the west, the Mughals besieged his troops in Agra, Ghulam Qadir pressed upon Delhi, and the Emperor was irresolute in the support of his protector. While Mahadji was concerting plans to resist the combination, Ghulam Qadir took possession of Delhi. He deposed and blinded Shah Alam, and plundered the city (1788).

The Marathas now appeared in force and drove Ghulam Qadir out. He was pursued, captured, and ultimately hanged. Shah

Alam was restored to the throne, but all real power was now exercised by the Marathas. Thus the revolution of the year 1788 closes the history of the Mughal Empire, for although Shah Alam lived till 1806, and his successors Akbar Shah II (1806–37) and Bahadur Shah (1837–58) bore the title of Emperor, they wielded no real authority.

(ii) The Marathas, 1772–1818

On the death of Madhava Rao, his brother Narayan Rao became the Peshwa, but he was murdered soon after his accession.

The death of Narayan Rao led to a dispute for the succession. His uncle Raghunath Rao, known as Raghoba, was one claimant, the other was Madhava Rao II, the posthumous son of Narayan Rao, who was supported by Nana Phadnavis, the Regent. In the war of succession, Raghoba obtained the help of the English governor at Bombay ceding Salsette and Bassein by the treaty of Surat. The war was fought in Gujarat, and in the battle of Arras (Adas) on the Mahi river, Raghoba and his English allies were severely handled by the Peshwa's forces in 1775. The Government of Bengal, which had now assumed supreme control over all the British possessions in India, disapproved of the Bombay Government's action, and negotiated the Treaty of Purandhar (1776) with the Peshwa, by which peace was concluded.

The feud between the Peshwa and Raghoba greatly weakened the Marathas. Some of the great leaders took the side of Nana Phadnavis and the ministers of the young Peshwa, but the others opposed him. The Maratha power ceased to be a strong centralised government, and became a loose confederation of almost independent chiefs who nominally recognised the authority of the Peshwa. Of these chiefs, the Gaikwar in Gujarat, and Holkar, Sindhia and Bhonsla in Central India, were the most important. They sought to extend their own territories. They never gave full support to the Peshwa, and joined in intrigues with the English, the Nizam of Hyderabad or the ruler of Mysore, for their personal benefit. But it is not necessary to enter into the tangled history of these constantly changing relations.

The First Maratha War.—After the Treaty of Purandhar, Nana Phadnavis had to counteract the hostility of Raghoba and his allies, the English. Both Nana and Hyder Ali had become alarmed at the growing power of the English in the Deccan, and they showed a desire to make an alliance. They made a combi-

nation with the Nizam and sought the help of the French. The English took all possible measures to defeat such plans, and prepared operations on a large scale. The Bombay Government which had never liked the Treaty of Purandhar and had not observed its terms, undertook to restore Raghoba to the Peshwa-ship. They obtained the support of the Gaikwar and other disaffected Marathas.

In 1778, war broke out. The troops of the Peshwa offered resistance to the advance of the English to Poona through the Bhorghat, and forced them to retreat and sign the humiliating Convention of Wadgaon (1779).

Hyder Ali assembled his troops at Bangalore and invaded the English possessions. He destroyed an English detachment under Colonel Baillie (1780) and threatened Madras.

The Bengal Government under Warren Hastings hastened to meet the menace of the allied powers. He sent an army under Goddard across Central India to Gujarat to attack the Marathas from Surat, another force under Popham to fight them in Central India, and Sir Eyre Coote to check the advance of Hyder Ali. Goddard captured Bassein, Popham stormed Gwalior and Eyre Coote engaged Hyder Ali in a strenuous campaign.

These events restored the prestige of the English, and Sindhia induced Nana to conclude the Treaty of Salbai with them in 1782. The treaty brought the first Maratha war to an end. It secured Salsette for the British and a pension for Raghoba. It otherwise restored the old state of affairs. As a consequence of the treaty the disruption of the Maratha power was hastened, and the English were recognised as the dominant factor in the political affairs of India.

War with Mysore.—In 1782, the Marathas made peace with the English at Salbai, but soon they were compelled to wage war against their ally, the ruler of Mysore. Tipu Sultan the successor of Hyder Ali. The war continued for several years. In 1790, the Marathas made an alliance with the Nizam and the English. The combined forces overran Mysore, and in 1792, attacked Seringapatam. Tipu Sultan was forced to cede half his territory and pay an enormous sum of money both of which were divided among the allies.

War with the Nizam.—After the conclusion of the war, the Marathas made demands for payment of arrears of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from the Nizam who, relying upon English support and guarantee for peace among their allies, refused.

War followed, and the Marathas inflicted a severe defeat upon the Nizam's army at Kharda in 1795, and seized a large tract of land.

The Downfall of the Marathas.—In 1795, the Marathas had attained once again the summit of power and prosperity. Not only much of the Deccan, but a great part of northern India was under their sway. Among the great Maratha chiefs who exercised power over large tracts in the north, Sindhia was the most important. But Mahadji, who had assumed control over Delhi in 1785, was jealous of Nana's ascendancy and desired to play an independent part. He was apprehensive of the English, and he took into his employment a number of French adventurers who trained his army on European models. The most noted of these was De Boigne. Mahadji's position in northern India was not secure. He had to fight against the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Mughal nobles, and he had to counteract the hostility of Holkar. But he overcame all opposition, and in 1792 obtained from the Emperor Shah Alam the hereditary office of Vakil for the Peshwa, and of his Deputy for himself. He thus became the most powerful of Maratha chiefs and a formidable rival of Nana. His death in 1794, however, left Nana in possession of undisputed authority. Mahadji was succeeded in his place by Daulat Rao.

But although Nana now enjoyed unquestioned supremacy over the Marathas, a sudden and untoward event in 1795 threw the state into confusion and disorder. Madhava Rao II, the Peshwa, who had been ailing for some time, fell down from the balcony of a hall into a fountain below, and died after a short illness. Baji Rao, son of Raghoba, then determined to seize the throne. A struggle for power ensued between Baji Rao and Nana, which shook the foundations of the Maratha power.

The Second Maratha War.—The death of Nana in 1800 removed the only statesman capable of maintaining the integrity of the empire. Baji Rao was an utterly worthless man, and his accession to the Peshwa's *gaddi* led to civil war among the Maratha chiefs. Sindhia and Holkar fought for control over the state and Baji Rao therefore sought the help of the English. He signed the Treaty of Bassein with them in 1802, and bound himself to maintain a British force in his dominion, and to render himself subsidiary to the English. This treaty made the English supreme over the Deccan.

The other Maratha chiefs disapproved of the treaty, but they

could not combine to form an alliance against their common enemy. The Gaikwar remained neutral and Holkar gave no help, for he hated both the Peshwa and Sindhia. Sindhia had, therefore, to fight for Maratha independence with the support of Bhonsla only. The Maratha forces were no match for the English. Wellesley entered Poona, seized Ahmadnagar and defeated Bhonsla at Assaye (1803). Then he captured Burhanpur and Asirgarh. Bhonsla, who continued the fight, suffered defeat at Argaon and lost the fort of Gawilgarh. He was forced to sign the Treaty of Deogaon, by which he ceded Cuttack and his share of Berar, and entered into a subsidiary alliance. Sindhia's forces met with severe reverses in Gujarat and northern India. Lake captured Aligarh, took possession of Delhi, and vanquished Sindhia's troops at Laswari. By the Treaty of Surji Arjungaon (1803) he also lost much of his power and territory and became a subordinate ally of the English.

In 1804, Holkar was forced to declare hostilities. He conducted his operations with some success, and rallied the Jats to his side. The English failed to capture Bharatpur and won no decisive battle. They therefore made peace with him in 1805.

The Consequences of the War.—These events brought about a great change in the condition of the Marathas. The English annexed large tracts of territory, made the Peshwa their dependent and the Mughal Emperor their pensioner, 'and they (the Marathas) sat down exhausted and dismayed, sensible of their errors when too late; but with no plan or even sentiment of union, except hatred to that nation by which they had been subdued.'

The internal administration of the Maratha states in northern India rapidly deteriorated. The collection of revenue became lax, and the troops did not receive their salaries regularly because of the loss of independence and of territories, and financial mismanagement. They refused to be disbanded and kept the country in turmoil and confusion. The Marathas always had contingents of Pindharees with their armies; they now defied all control and were encouraged by the growing anarchy to set up as plunderers.

The Third Maratha War.—The Government of the Peshwa at Poona suffered from similar troubles. Baji Rao, who was an absolutely worthless ruler, utterly neglected the affairs of his state. But he hated the English and attempted to increase his army and to revive the Maratha confederacy. He also tried to

establish his ascendancy over Gujarat, which led to a quarrel between the Peshwa and the Gaikwar. The murder of Gangadhar Shastri, the Gaikwar's envoy at Poona, in 1816, gave an opportunity to the English to foil the plans of the Peshwa. The English forces surrounded Poona and forced Baji Rao to sign a new treaty, by which he ceded more of his territory and lost more of his power.

Baji Rao was exasperated by the treaty, and made preparations to recover his independence, but again the lack of concerted action on the part of the Maratha chiefs led to the defeat of each in turn.

The English defeated the Peshwa at Khirki (1817), and his supporter, the Raja of Nagpur, at Sitabaldi, and captured Satara and Nagpur. They closed upon the Pindharees of Central India, defeated Holkar at Mahidpur, and overran Bundelkhand. During the year 1817-18, the whole of the Maratha territory was subjugated. Baji Rao surrendered and was deprived of all power and made a pensioner. The Raja of Satara was placed on the throne, but he ruled only a small state as a dependant of the English. The kingdom which Shivaji had founded in 1674 and which, under the first three Peshwas, had grown into a vast empire, thus finally passed away in 1819.

The Causes of the Downfall.—The causes of the downfall of the Marathas were similar to those which operated in the case of the Mughal empire. Firstly, the government was conducted entirely by the chiefs, ministers and Sardars in their own interest, and was not influenced by the opinion of the people. Groups of subjects were bound to their chiefs by sentiments of personal loyalty, but they did not treat the state as their own and were not interested in its permanence, stability and independence.

In the second place, there was no cohesion among the leaders. The Maratha chiefs quarrelled among themselves. They were jealous for personal power and did not unite against their common enemies. Thirdly, their armies were not homogeneous, and they had troops of various communities and tribes including the Europeans in their service. Such troops and their commanders could be easily won over by their enemies.

Fourthly, the Maratha empire maintained itself by continuous wars against the Indian princes, and their exactions from the Hindu and Muslim rulers made them unpopular and therefore incapable of uniting the country under one authority. Their treatment forced these rulers into alliance with the Europeans

settled in India. Fifthly, there was no satisfactory system of education among the Marathas and there was a dearth of efficient and honest officers. Corruption was rife in the government, and industry, commerce and arts were neglected.

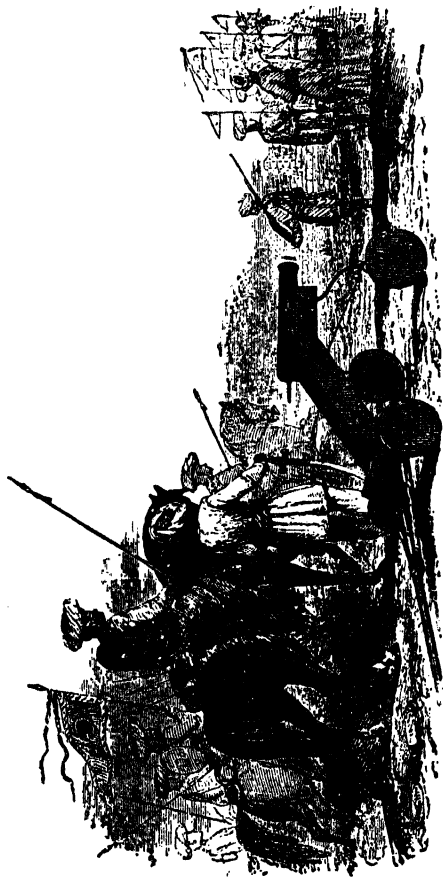
(iii) **Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan**

The founder of the kingdom of Mysore is said to have come from Dwarka in Kathiawar in the fourteenth century. His successors remained the feudatories of Vijayanagar till its destruction in 1565. Then they established an independent principality and extended their territory. Early in the eighteenth century power passed into the hands of the ministers, and the Commander-in-Chief, known as the *Dalwai*, became the virtual ruler.

In the period of the wars of succession, which began in 1748 in the Deccan, Hyder Ali rose into prominence. His father was killed in fighting for the Mughal empire against the Nawab of Arcot. His brother entered into the service of the Mysore ruler and he followed him. He attracted the attention of his officers by his qualities, made a rapid advance in service and by 1760 became the chief of the Mysore army. Then he ousted the Dalwai from power and took the reins of government in his own hands. For twenty-one years he ruled the kingdom of Mysore with great success. He was gifted with the highest qualities of a statesman, general and diplomat, and his name stands foremost among the galaxy of great men whom India produced in the eighteenth century.

Hyder Ali was mainly occupied with wars against the Marathas and the English. The Marathas desired to recover the districts conquered by Shivaji and lost during the struggle with Aurangzeb, and to levy tribute. They therefore attacked Mysore again and again. In 1759, Hyder Ali foiled their attempt to take Bangalore, but in 1764 Madhava Rao crossed the Tungabhadra and forced Hyder to sue for peace. In 1766, Madhava Rao again invaded Mysore and compelled Hyder Ali to pay a large tribute. Four years later the Marathas advanced to the capital, Seringapatam, but were bought off by the payment of an indemnity. In 1778, Hyder Ali repelled another attack and annexed the territory in the Raichur Doab. During the intervals of these wars he conquered Malabar, Coorg and neighbouring districts.

The First and Second Mysore Wars.—Hyder Ali's first war against the English took place from 1767 to 1769. He



Tipu's Cavalry and Infantry.

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greatly harassed the British forces and their allies, marched upon Madras and obliged them to conclude peace. But the English failed to observe the terms of peace, and so in 1779 he made an alliance with the Marathas and the Nizam, gathered his forces and crossing the eastern passes swept across the plains to appear before Madras. He defeated Baillie's troops, stormed Arcot, fought a number of actions against Eyre Coote, and inflicted heavy losses upon the English. But in the midst of the war which he had waged with such consummate skill, disease overtook him and he died (1782).

Tipu Sultan, who succeeded his father, continued the war in spite of the desertion of the Marathas and the Nizam. He had inherited many of the qualities of his father and he was a brilliant general. His main task was to keep the Malabar Coast open and he carried it out with success by recovering possession of the territory of Kanara and Malabar and capturing Bednur and Mangalore. The war was at last brought to an end by the Treaty of Mangalore in 1784.

The Third Mysore War.—The rivalry of the British and Tipu Sultan for supremacy in the Deccan was little affected by the Treaty of Mangalore. Cornwallis, the Governor-General, planned to assert British ascendancy by entering into an alliance with the Nizam against Tipu Sultan. Tipu attacked Travancore whose Raja was an ally of the British, and Lord Cornwallis concluded a treaty with the Marathas and the Nizam (1790) and declared war. Cornwallis himself took the command; he captured Bangalore and then laid siege to Seringapatam. Tipu sued for peace (1792). He had to cede half his territories and pay a huge indemnity to the allies.

The Fourth Mysore War.—After the great losses thus sustained, Tipu took measures to recover his power. He collected funds, reformed the revenue administration and recruited his army. He also sent embassies to Afghanistan, Persia and France to gain allies, and made attempts to win the friendship of Indian rulers.

Lord Wellesley who arrived in India in 1798 had made up his mind to establish the supremacy of the British over the country. He could not tolerate an Indian ruler who presumed to enter into negotiations with an enemy of England, i.e., France. As Tipu Sultan had sent envoys to the French governor of Mauritius, he called upon him to give up intercourse with the French. The Sultan refused to surrender his independence and Wellesley

declared war. The English forces marched to Seringapatam and stormed the town. The Sultan fell fighting bravely at the gate of his palace.

Parts of Mysore were added to the territories of the British and their allies, and the remainder was constituted into a state to which the old Hindu dynasty was restored.

(iv) **The English, 1772–1818**

(1) **Warren Hastings. 1772–1885**

The East India Company was an association of English merchants who had received charters from the Government of England for the purpose of carrying on trade in India. The Company had established its factories on the coasts of India and organised the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. They had taken part in the political affairs of the Indian rulers, and acquired by 1772 large tracts of territory in Bengal and in the south. The Company had, therefore, grown into a territorial power, and this change raised three problems which needed settlement. In the first place, it was necessary to fix its position in relation to the government in England; in the second place, to determine the relations between the two branches of the Company—one in England and the other in India; and lastly, to determine the relations between the presidencies in India.

Constitution of the East India Company.—In 1773, the Parliament of England passed the Regulating Act. The Act did three things: (1) It remodelled the constitution of the Company in England and provided it with a Court of Directors and a Board of Control, subject to the British Parliament; (2) So far as the administration of India was concerned, the Act provided for the appointment of a Governor-General of Bengal, assisted by four councillors, with power to control the other presidencies in making war or peace; (3) The Act also provided for the establishment of a Supreme Court of Judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three judges.

The provisions of the Act, however, contained a number of defects. In the first place, the Governor-General and his Council were bound by the votes of the majority of those present at a meeting of the Council. Thus, the Governor-General could be overruled whenever three members of the Council combined against him. This rule created a great many difficulties in administration. In the second place, although the Govern-

ment of Bengal controlled the other presidencies in matters of war and peace, the governors of the presidencies could communicate with the Board of Directors in England and act upon their special orders. In this way, they could set at naught the authority of the Governor-General and his Council. Lastly, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was not clearly defined, and its authority clashed with that of *Sadr* courts. This defect was removed by the Act of 1781.

The Regulating Act included the names of the Governor-General of Bengal and of his four councillors. Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General.

Pitt's India Act, 1784.—The defects of the Regulating Act were removed by the India Act of 1784. By this Act the Board of Control brought the Company completely under the direction of the British Government although it left the powers of administration, appointment, and trade in the hands of the Company. It entrusted the administration of India to the Governor-General and a Council of three, and made the presidencies definitely subordinate to Bengal in the matter of their relations with the Indian states and the declaration of war or making of peace.

Administrative Changes.—In 1772, Warren Hastings had become the Governor of Bengal. The dual system of administration established by Clive was still in existence; Hastings was ordered to abolish the system. Under this system, although the English held the supreme power, they did not concern themselves with the administration of the country; they entrusted the Nawab with maintaining peace and order and administering justice and law, as well as the collection of revenue through officers known as *Naib Diwans*—one for Bengal and the other for Bihar. Thus power and responsibility were separated, and the people were grievously oppressed.

Hastings abolished this system. He took away all authority from Indian hands and removed the treasury and revenue offices from Murshidabad and Patna to Calcutta. The *Naib Diwans* were dismissed. He established a Board of Revenue at Calcutta for administering the land revenue, and appointed collectors in each district for the collection of revenues. For the administration of justice two *Sadr* courts were established at Calcutta under the supervision of the Supreme Council—a *Sadr* civil court and a *Sadr* criminal court. Under the control of these courts, district courts were established, but the collectors were made responsible for civil justice, while Indian officials were

still retained to preside over the criminal courts. The judicial powers of zamindars were taken away. The other measures of Hastings included the reduction of the allowance paid to the Nawab of Bengal from thirty-two to sixteen lakhs, the suppression of dacoity in Bengal, and the strict administration of criminal law. His attempts to purify the services were not successful, because the civil servants continued to engage in private trade. He abolished, however, the system of *Dastaks* by which the English merchants and their favourites carried their goods up and down the country without paying the customs duty.

The system of Hastings was based on the rejection of Indian co-operation in administration. It handed over all authority to inexperienced English merchants and clerks. It failed. Then under orders from the Directors of the East India Company in London, criminal justice was handed over to the Nawab, and the *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* was moved back to Murshidabad (1775).

Warren Hastings and the Indian Rulers.—The period during which Hastings ruled over the British dominions in India was one of great stress for the British Empire. In Europe, they had to face the hostility of France, and in America, the revolt of their colonies which won their independence. It was, therefore, difficult for Hastings to obtain much support from England and he had to maintain his hold over the Indian territories in opposition to the Marathas, the Nizam, and Hyder Ali, who were in touch with the French.

1. The Emperor of Delhi.—Shah Alam resided at Allahabad after the defeat at Buxar, as a dependent of the Company. He received a tribute of twenty-six lakhs of rupees from them. But in 1772, he removed to Delhi under the protection of the Marathas. Hastings regarded the Marathas as his enemies, and therefore decided to stop the payment of the tribute. The districts of Allahabad and Kara were made over to the Nawab of Oudh for fifty lakhs of rupees.

2. The Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the Rohilla War.—The keynote of the English policy in the north was the maintenance of friendship with the Nawab of Oudh, who acted as a buffer against all invasions of Bengal from the west, either of the Marathas or of the Afghans. The English sold the districts of Allahabad and Kara to the Nawab in order to leave the protection of their frontier in the west to the Nawab, and to bind him more closely to themselves.

In 1772 Hastings entered into a treaty with the Nawab to

protect Rohilkhand from the invasion of the Marathas, on condition that Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the Rohilla chief, paid forty lakhs of rupees to the Nawab. In 1773, the Marathas departed from the Doab, for they were recalled to the Deccan by the events following the death of their Peshwa, Madhava Rao. The Nawab claimed the stipulated money from the Rohillas, who refused to pay. The combined forces of the Nawab and the English defeated the Rohillas. Rohilkhand was annexed to the dominions of the Nawab, and the English obtained much profit.

3. The Marathas.—The rapid recovery which the Marathas had made after the defeat at Panipat roused feelings of alarm. By 1772, the Marathas had become a dominant power in the north and the English were afraid of their encroachments and were hostile to their power. The death of Madhava Rao offered the English the opportunity to interfere in Maratha affairs. Hastings played his part with great courage and skill. He made use of the mutual jealousies of the Maratha chiefs, and the feuds of the rulers of the Deccan and Mysore, to weaken the Marathas and obtain a dominating position for the English.



A Rohilla.

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The Bombay authorities used Raghunath Rao as an instrument for the extension of their influence. Raghunath Rao signed in 1776 the Treaty of Surat, by which the English promised to help him with troops on condition that he defrayed their cost and ceded Salsette and Bassein. In the war which followed, the English were unable to gain any considerable victory, and the Bengal Government ordered the Bombay Government to cease hostilities. The Treaty of Purandhar was then concluded. But in 1778, the Bombay Government, with the special permission of the Directors, decided to renew the war in order to instal Raghunath Rao as Peshwa. The campaign proved disastrous. The English had to sign the convention

of Wadgaon and lost a great deal of their prestige. But now Hastings intervened, and adopted vigorous measures to revive the English prestige. The march of Goddard through Central India, the capture of Gwalior and Bassein, and the defeat of Sindhia were serious blows. The indifference of Bhonsla towards the affair of Poona, and the rivalry of Holkar and Sindhia, weakened Nana's power, and he was induced by Sindhia to make the Treaty of Salbai in 1782 which ended the war. As a result, the English became a dominant power and the bonds of the Maratha confederacy were loosened.

4. Karnatak Affairs.—The wars against the French had given the English a position of military supremacy in the Karnatak. But they did not assume control of the province, and the Karnatak remained under the rule of the Nawab of Arcot. In 1766, the English made a treaty of mutual assistance with the Nizam, who allowed them to occupy the Northern Sarkars. The treaty was aimed against Hyder Ali, whose energetic rule and military skill made him a dangerous person in the eyes of the English, and particularly of their ally Muhammad Ali, Nawab of Arcot. In 1767, they declared war on him, but the war was a failure, for Hyder Ali not only harassed the English forces, but threatened Madras, and the government was forced to make peace (1769).

In 1780, when the English were engaged in fighting against the Marathas, Hyder Ali, who had been provoked by their intrigues with the Nizam and the Marathas, declared war. The Madras Government was in the hands of incompetent officers and Hyder Ali gained successes over the English troops. Warren Hastings sent troops from Bengal which stemmed the disastrous tide. The Treaty of Salbai in 1782 released the Bombay forces and they began to operate against Hyder from the west. The death of Hyder Ali in this year did not affect the situation, for Tipu Sultan carried on the war with great vigour. At last in 1784 the war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Mangalore, which confirmed each party in its old possessions.

The Difficulties of Warren Hastings

1. Warren Hastings and his Colleagues.—By the Regulating Act, the Governor-General was associated with four councillors to carry on the government, but he could not override the decisions of the Council. Unfortunately for Hastings, three of the councillors constantly opposed the plans of the Governor-General,

who was placed in a minority in the Council. For a number of years he had to experience great difficulties in carrying out his policy, but death and retirement freed him from his opponents. The councillors who were appointed to fill the vacancies proved more manageable.

2. The Trial of Nanda Kumar.—Nanda Kumar was the governor of Hugli under Siraj-ud-Daulah. He rose to the position of Deputy Nawab of Bengal, but was deprived of this office later. He was an ally of the councillors opposed to Hastings, and he brought charges of corruption against the Governor-General who naturally hated him bitterly. Countercharges of conspiracy and of forgery were brought against him. He was tried by the Supreme Court and sentenced to death. 'There can be no doubt that the infliction of the death penalty was so excessively severe that it amounted to miscarriage of justice.' Hastings was glad that Nanda Kumar, his personal enemy, was removed from his path, but the execution leaves a dark stain upon his conduct.

3. The Council and the Supreme Court.—The powers of the Supreme Court had not been clearly defined by the Regulating Act, and there was much conflict between the jurisdiction of the Company's officers and the Supreme Court. Hastings tried to put an end to the conflict by placing Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, at the head of the judicial system of the Company. The friction was stopped, but as the independence of the chief justice was lost by this arrangement, the authorities in England refused to sanction the arrangement and it ceased.

In 1781, an Act was passed by the British Parliament which amended the Regulating Act and clearly defined the powers of the Supreme Court. Thus the conflict was permanently removed.

4. Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh.—The wars of the Company against the Indian rulers exhausted its finances, and Hastings had recourse to new methods for raising money. The first victim of his extortions was Chait Singh, Raja of Varanasi. Large sums of money were demanded from him for which there was no justification. Even their payment did not satisfy Hastings. In 1780, he proceeded to Varanasi, and put the Raja under arrest. The Raja's troops were infuriated by the undeserved humiliation of their prince and broke out in insurrection. Hastings fled to Chunar, but rallied his forces, drove Chait Singh out of Varanasi, and conferred his dominions on his nephew. 'Hastings' treat-

ment of the unfortunate Raja was merciless and vindictive.' The result of his action was that the country round Varanasi was turned into a waste, while the Company received no money.

His next victims were the Begums of Oudh—the mother and the grandmother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah. The Nawab owed money to the Company. Hastings urged upon the Nawab the desirability of seizing the treasure possessed by the Begums, and in 1782, the money was extorted by force.

Estimate of Hastings' Character and Career.—Hastings was gifted with a clear and resourceful mind and with tireless energy and indomitable courage. He had to defend the interests of his nation in a dark hour of its history. He succeeded in making the British one of the dominant powers in India, when in another part of the world the empire was crumbling to pieces. Hastings was not a great administrator, for his civil system proved a failure but he was a masterly diplomat and a great organiser. In the employment of means to achieve his end he was unscrupulous, for his moral sense was not keen. He was a great benefactor of his country, for, in the face of bitter opposition, and with limited resources, he established firmly the foundations of the British dominion in India. But so far as India is concerned he neglected the interests of its peoples, and his administration rendered them poor and miserable. He appreciated, however, the value of Indian institutions and learning. He founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and required the Company's courts to administer Indian law and respect Indian customs.

(2) **The Establishment of British Supremacy in India, 1785–1818**

The period between 1785 and 1818 was one of rapid expansion of British dominion in India. Several factors were responsible for this; the decline of the Marathas, the only rivals of the English, on account of their internal dissensions, the rise of the Sikhs in the Punjab which made it difficult for any Asiatic power to invade India, the rapid growth of the prosperity and power of England owing to the industrial revolution in that country, and the supremacy of the British at sea which enabled them to prevent their European rivals, especially the French, from interfering in Indian affairs.

The period was so full of wars that administrative developments were few, but those that took place were important. The land

revenue systems, the method of dispensing criminal and civil justice, and the Civil Service were organised and improved.

The State and the Company.—In 1784, Pitt's India Act had been passed by Parliament. An amending Act was passed in 1786, by which the Governor-General was given the power to override the decisions of the Council in special cases, and to hold the office of Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

The Charter of the Company was renewed for twenty years in 1813, but the sovereignty of the British Crown over the possessions of the Company was definitely affirmed.

Lord Cornwallis, 1786–93. Administrative Developments.—Lord Cornwallis, who came to India in 1786, was entrusted with three main tasks: (1) to establish a new system of relations with the Indian princes based upon the policy of non-intervention; (2) to remove the abuses of the land revenue system and to settle permanent arrangements for its collection; and (3) to reorganise the system of administration. He endeavoured to remove the corruption in the Civil Service by stopping irregular gains and granting adequate salaries to the civil servants. He established provincial courts of appeal over the district courts, and limited the powers of the collectors to revenue work only by appointing judges for judicial work; thus he finally separated civil jurisdiction from revenue administration. He again took over the control of criminal jurisdiction from the Nawab's courts and placed it in the hands of the Company's servants. He organised the department of police.

In 1793, he carried out the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue of Bengal. By this measure the revenue demanded from the landlords was fixed permanently and they were recognised as absolute masters of their estates. The result was that a wealthy and privileged class grew up, which became a support for the Government. But the state lost its share of the growing income from land, and the cultivators were left at the mercy of the landlords.

One great defect of Cornwallis' measures was that the people of India were entirely excluded from the administration of their own country.

Expansion of British Dominion.—During the period of Cornwallis' rule the English engaged only in the war against Tipu Sultan. Although the Act of 1784 had declared against the pursuit of schemes of conquest and extension of dominion, Cornwallis gave a promise of help to the Nizam against Mysore,

whereupon Tipu made an attack on Travancore, an ally of the English. War began in 1790. The Marathas joined the English. Cornwallis took the command in person. After two years the war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792. Half the territory of Mysore and three crores of rupees were the gains of the allies, and they were equally divided.

Sir John Shore, 1793–98.—Shore carried out strictly the policy of non-intervention laid down in Pitt's India Act. He abstained from schemes of conquest and alliances which might lead to war. This policy could be of value only if the Indian rulers continued to quarrel among themselves, and none among them obtained such dominating power as to threaten the English. In these circumstances the Company could save money, and reform the system of administration in its own territories. However, these conditions were difficult to obtain, and the policy of non-intervention could only be followed by breaking faith with the princes with whom definite treaties had been made.

During Shore's administration the Marathas took advantage of this policy to obtain a dominating position and to inflict a crushing defeat at Kharda on the Nizam, who was an ally of the English, but who received no support from Shore. Again, the French utilised the opportunity to establish their influence at the courts of the Nizam who, after Kharda, was justly infuriated with the English, of Tipu Sultan, who had been deprived of his territory, and of the Maratha chiefs like Sindhia and Holkar.

Lord Wellesley, 1798–1805.—Wellesley came out to India at a time when the English were engaged in a fierce struggle for national self-preservation against the French, who were led by their great general Napoleon. He was determined to defeat the plans of the French in India which threatened British dominion, and to make the power of his nation paramount.

In order to achieve his objects Wellesley developed the system of subsidiary alliances with the Indian rulers. The main features of the system were: (1) the Indian ruler who became a subsidiary ally was forbidden from entering into treaties of alliance with, or from waging war against, his neighbours, and thus became subordinate to the English in his foreign policy; (2) he had to maintain a force under British command and pay a subsidy for its maintenance to the Company; (3) he could not employ any foreigner in his service who belonged to a nation at war with the English; and (4) he had to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government.

The policy of subsidiary alliance was most advantageous to the English, for it enabled them to maintain a large army under their own command without incurring any expenditure, and to use it against the Indian princes to uphold their own supremacy. The policy was enforced with great harshness and without any consideration for the feelings of the Indian princes. But their selfishness, political incapacity and neglect of the interests of their people had made them easy and deserving victims.

The first ruler to whom it was applied was the Nizam. He was induced to disband his forces trained under French officers and to receive and pay for an English force.

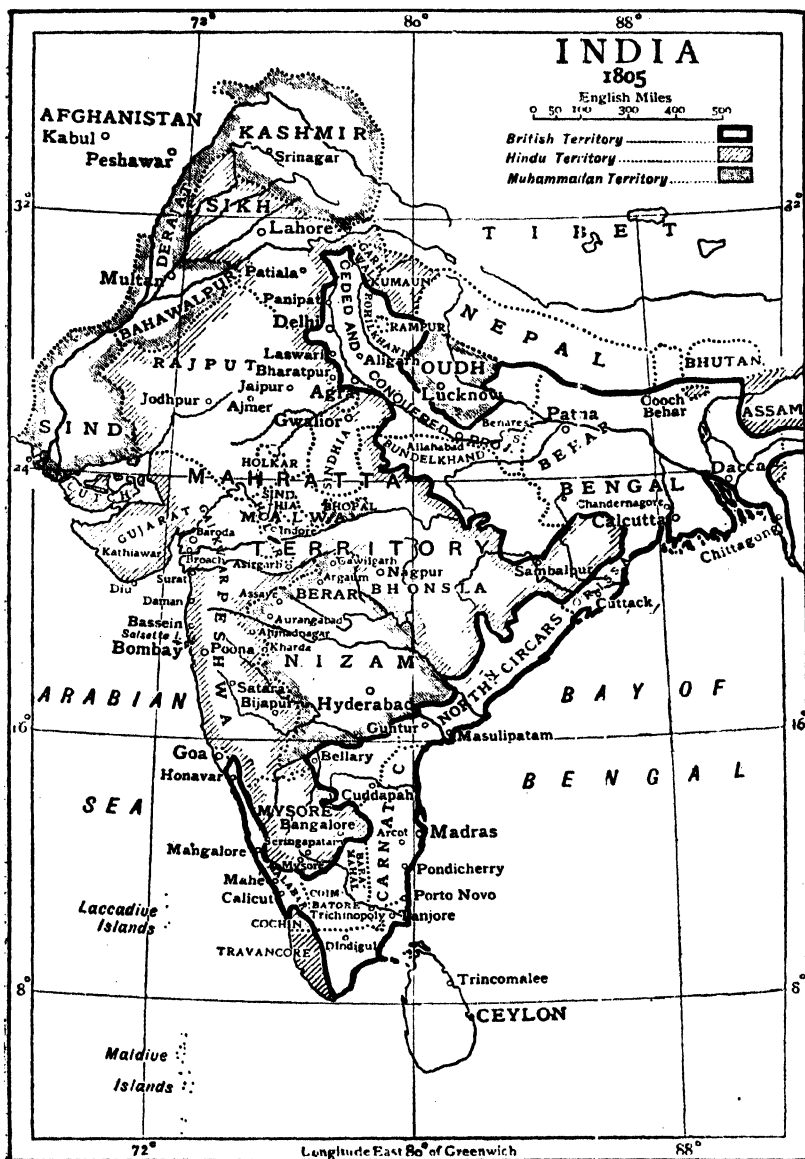
Tipu Sultan was seeking an alliance with the French, and Wellesley, therefore, resolved upon crushing him. An English army marched upon Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, and stormed the city. Tipu died fighting in defence of his kingdom (1799). The old Hindu dynasty was restored, and the Raja submitted to the subsidiary alliance.

The Nawab of Oudh, who ruled over a territory which lay between the invaders from the north-west and Bengal, could not be allowed to remain independent. In 1801, he was forced to give up half his territory, and to enter the subsidiary system.

The Marathas were the last to feel the weight of Wellesley's domineering personality. The accession of Baji Rao II led to civil commotion. The dissensions and jealousies of the Maratha chiefs caused disruption, and Baji Rao placed himself in the hands of the English and signed the Treaty of Bassein (1802), by which he accepted the subsidiary alliance. The other Maratha chiefs, Sindhia and Bhonsla, who attempted to escape the net were forced into it after a war by the Treaties of Deogaon (1803) and Surji Arjungaon (1803). The Gaikwar gave up his independence without a struggle, and Holkar alone continued to enjoy his freedom for some time longer, but in 1805 he too became a subordinate ally of the English.

The territories acquired by means of these treaties were large. The Nizam gave up the districts of Bellary and Cuddapah, the ruler of Mysore gave up Kanara and Coimbatore, the Nawab of Oudh lost Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand, the Bhonsla Raja gave up Cuttack and Sindhia Broach and the Doab.

The Raja of Tanjore and the Nawabs of the Karnatak and Surat were deprived of their principalities, which were annexed to the British territory.



The policy of Wellesley was costly, and it reduced the profits of the shareholders of the East India Company. He was recalled in 1805 and Cornwallis was sent out a second time with instructions to adhere to the policy of non-intervention. Cornwallis died within three months of his arrival in India, and Sir George Barlow held office for two years (1805-07). He strictly followed the policy of Cornwallis.

Lord Minto, 1807-13.—When Minto arrived in India new dangers threatened the British empire. Napoleon had attained unprecedented power in Europe and had just entered into an alliance with the Czar of Russia, with the object of crushing Britain, destroying its commercial prosperity and overthrowing its empire in Asia. To meet this threat it was necessary to suppress all elements which could be a source of trouble. Minto consequently adopted a policy of active interference in Indian affairs, and gave effect to it by wars of conquest and by alliances.

The conquests included the seizure of the French islands of Mauritius and Bourbon (1810), of the Dutch Spice Islands and Java (1811).

Embassies for concluding treaties of alliance were sent to Persia, Afghanistan and the Punjab. The mission to Persia was unsuccessful because of the quarrel between the British agents sent from India and those from England. Malcolm, who had been sent by Lord Minto to Persia, returned without accomplishing anything.

The mission to Kabul also failed. Afghanistan was in the grip of a civil war and the British envoy could not reach the Afghan capital.

The mission to Maharaja Ranjit Singh was headed by Metcalfe, and a treaty of perpetual friendship was signed at Amritsar in 1809. The Maharaja undertook to abstain from making encroachments on the territories of the Sikh chiefs south of the Sutlej, which was recognised as the frontier of the British dominion. The British posted an army at Ludhiana to watch the frontier.

Lord Hastings, 1813-23.—The policy of non-intervention was now completely abandoned for one of the assertion of complete supremacy of the British in India. The enfeebled Indian princes and petty chiefs had little interest in good administration, and they had no large views about the welfare of the people. They were engaged in petty disputes among themselves, whose only object was personal aggrandisement. These feuds were destruc-

tive of peace and prosperity. Hastings determined to put an end to this state of things.

The Nepal War.—His first war was directed against the Gurkhas, who had founded an extensive principality in the Himalayan region. They had established themselves in Kathmandu in 1768, and extended their power from Sikkim to the Sutlej, so that their frontier coincided with that of the British dominion. This led to border disputes and, in 1814, to war. The Gurkha territories were attacked from three sides, but the British generals suffered severe reverses, and General Gillespie was killed. General Ochterlony, however, conquered Kumaon in 1815, and captured the fort of Malaon. Next year he defeated the Gurkhas at Makwanpur and forced them to conclude peace by the Treaty of Sagauli. The Gurkhas ceded the Punjab hill states, Garhwal and Kumaon, and the greater portion of the Tarai, and received a British Resident at their capital.

The Pindharees.—Hastings next turned his attention to the unsettled conditions in Central India, where the Marathas, the Pathans, the Pindharees and the Rajputs ruled over their territories with complete disregard for their responsibilities. The Pindharees, who were at one time the camp-followers of the Maratha forces, had lost employment after the Marathas had accepted the subsidiary system. They formed bands of freebooters who were recruited from all communities. Their occupation was to harass and plunder. Their most prominent leaders were Chitu, Wasil Muhammad and Karim Khan. In 1812, they began to raid the territories of the Company, and in 1816, they attacked the Northern Sarkars. Hastings rounded them up. The leaders who surrendered were offered small estates where they settled. The others were hunted down and killed.

The Marathas.—After the Pindharees came the turn of the Marathas. Baji Rao II had a dispute with the Gaikwar. The English supported the Gaikwar, and the Peshwa attempted to assert his authority with the help of Sindhia and Holkar. The Governor-General surrounded the Maratha territories from all sides, and when the Peshwa attacked the English at Khirki, he was defeated. The office of the Peshwa was abolished and Baji Rao was made a pensioner. The Raja of Nagpur, who had also risen against the English, was defeated at Sitabaldi; a part of his territories was annexed and the remainder left to his grandson.

The Holkar's forces suffered defeat at Mahidpur (1818). He

relinquished his territories south of the Narmada and accepted a British Resident at his court.

The Sindhia ceded Ajmer, and the Gaikwar gave up Ahmedabad.

The Raja of Satara was provided with a small principality which he ruled under British suzerainty. The Rajput states were taken under British protection.

The wars of Hastings put an end to the existence of all independent principalities in India, south of Sutlej, and established the paramountcy of the British in this vast region.

(v) **The Sikhs, 1707–1824**

Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs, died in 1708, having been stabbed while asleep. Before he breathed his last, he enjoined upon the Sikhs to consider the *Granth* of Guru Nanak as the Guru after him. From 1708, therefore, no spiritual Guru was appointed. Banda Bahadur, Guru Govind's chosen disciple, now returned to the north and immediately became the temporal leader of the Khalsa. He collected Sikh bands and defeated the Mughal authorities in the neighbourhood of Sirhind. He also attacked the Mughal governor of the country, who was defeated and slain. Banda was now master of all the country between the Sutlej and the Jamuna. The Emperor Bahadur Shah had by this time come to terms with the Marathas and was busy making plans for subjugating the Rajputs. When he heard of the exploits of Banda, he hastened to the Punjab. But before he himself could come to grips with the Sikhs, his officers had defeated a body of them near Panipat. Banda retired to his fortress in the hills of Sirmoor where he was besieged. He was able to escape, however, and was driven towards Jammu. Bahadur Shah, who had been pursuing him, had by this time reached Lahore, where he died in 1712. As was customary in those days, a conflict for the throne of Delhi ensued after his death, and this provided the Sikhs with a valuable opportunity to re-establish their authority in the southern Punjab. A new fort called Gurdaspur was built by them to serve as a stronghold between the Bias and the Ravi rivers. Meanwhile, Bahadur Shah's eldest son Jahandar Shah had been dethroned and killed by Farrukhsiyar, who was eager to punish the Sikhs who had, during these years, defeated his Viceroy of Lahore and the Governor of Sirhind. For the projected campaign against Banda and his Sikhs the new emperor gave the command to his

Governor of Kashmir, a clever general named Abdus Samad Khan. He also sent some men and supplies from Delhi to augment the resources and forces of Abdus Samad Khan who was organising his troops at Lahore. After all the necessary preparations had been made, and a train of artillery secured, Abdus Samad Khan came out of Lahore and fell upon the Sikh army. Banda put up a fierce resistance but was ultimately defeated. As he retired to Gurdaspur, he was closely pursued by the Imperial forces. During his retreat, Banda fought many successful rear-guard actions inflicting heavy losses on his pursuers. Though badly outnumbered (for Abdus Samad Khan had brought several thousand soldiers from Kashmir), Banda's march to Gurdaspur was not a disorderly rout, but an orderly withdrawal.

Siege of Gurdaspur (1716).—Banda now shut himself up in Gurdaspur, where he was closely besieged. The siege of Gurdaspur is considered one of the great epics of Sikh history. The food supplies of the garrison were limited and were soon exhausted. Nothing could reach them from outside and the besieged men were soon forced to eat the flesh of horses and other animals. They were finally reduced to submission and Banda was brought to Delhi, where he was put to death.

The death of Banda left the Sikhs without a leader and little is heard of them for about twenty years except that they were harshly persecuted. Their losses in battle had been great, and they were leaderless and depressed. But the spirit aroused by Govind and Banda was not dead, and it only awaited a favourable opportunity to assert itself.

During the period of commotion (1739–65), when Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah repeatedly invaded India, the Sikhs saw their opportunity and again rose into prominence. They founded the Khalsa state, raised an army, built strongholds and struck coins. In 1764, when Ahmad Shah retired from India after his seventh invasion of the country, the Sikhs occupied Lahore and became masters of the whole country from the Jhelum to the Jamuna.

They now began to organise themselves into some sort of a political system. Theoretically all Sikhs were equal and free. In practice, however, some who could lead were recognised as leaders and others obeyed. They organised themselves into a confederation. All the Sikh chiefs met once every year at Amritsar and held a *Gurumata* or Council to decide matters of common concern. *Gurumata* means literally the 'wisdom of the Guru', and

the idea was that the assembly could derive unanimity and inspiration from the word of the Guru as contained in the *Granth*. The confederation consisted of twelve *misl*s or unions. Each *misl* obeyed or followed its *Sardar* or leader, held its own lands and maintained an army of horsemen.

Of the twelve *misl*s eleven arose in the country to the north of the Sutlej, and only one—that of Phulkian—to the south of that river. The *misl*s established to the north of the Sutlej were known as *Manjha Singhs* and those between Sirhind and Sirsa as *Malwa Singhs*. It is not known definitely how many horsemen these *misl*s could muster, but their total strength has been estimated as 'between seventy thousand and four times that number'. The Sikh soldiers were chiefly horsemen and the small number of infantry was used for garrisoning forts. Their chief weapon was the matchlock, in the use of which they became very skilled.

The confederation of the *misl*s, however, did not last long because of personal jealousies among the leaders, and even the invasions of Zaman Shah in 1797–9 failed to unite them. But between 1765 and 1800 the Sikhs extended their sway in all directions, and brought not only the Punjab from Attock to Karnal, but also Multan and Jammu, under their control. They even ravaged the Doab and Rohilkhand, and pressed upon the borders of Oudh.

Among the *misl*s of the Manjha, the Sukherkuchia ultimately obtained ascendancy under the leadership of Mohan Singh, while among the Malwas, the Patiala branch of the Phulkians was acknowledged as the leader. During the Second Maratha War (1801–05), some of the Sikh Sardars made an alliance with the English and rendered good service to them against the Marathas. Among these Sardars was Ranjit Singh, son of Mohan Singh.

The Rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.—Ranjit Singh was born about the year 1780. He rose into prominence during the invasion of Zaman Shah of Kabul in 1799. Ranjit Singh coveted Lahore, the possession of which was supposed to be very important, as it was the seat of the former Mughal Viceroys of Delhi. As Zaman Shah was hurrying home on account of some trouble expected there, he was unable to take his heavy guns over the flooded Jhelum river. Ranjit Singh promised to salvage and send them after him—a promise which he faithfully kept. In return for this service the Shah granted him Lahore which, however, Ranjit Singh had to capture for himself from the

Bhangi misl. Aeftr making Lahore his capital Ranjit Singh reduced the *Bhangi misl* to submission, and brought the Pathans of Kasur under subjection. Then he made an alliance with Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and acquired Amritsar in 1802, and exacted homage from the chiefs of the Punjab. During the Maratha wars, Ranjit Singh refused to help the Marathas and entered into a friendly alliance with the English. In 1805, he drove Sansar Chand of Katoch towards the hills to the north of the Sutlej. Next year he crossed the Sutlej and took Ludhiana, held by a Mohammedan family. By this time the Sikh Confederacy of *misl*s had ceased to exist, and Ranjit Singh had resolved to establish a monarchy which would unite the Sikhs in a single state.

In 1807, Ranjit Singh expelled the Pathan chiefs of Kasur, and then proceeded towards Multan, where he was partially successful. During the same year, he crossed the Sutlej again to settle a dispute between the ruler of Patiala and his wife. On his way back he attacked Narayangarh and also took the fort of Rahon belonging to the Dulewala family. Thus, by 1808, Ranjit Singh had brought various places on both sides of the Sutlej under his control.

The Sikhs of Sirhind were naturally very uneasy about the safety of their own possessions. Some of these chiefs, therefore, sent a deputation to Delhi (March 1808) to seek British protection. The British, however, were not inclined to give them any definite promise of protection at this time and put them off with vague assurances of help in case of need. Meanwhile Ranjit Singh, afraid of their being taken under British protection, sent them messages inviting them to join his camp. Being disappointed with the vague British reply, they turned towards Lahore to see what Ranjit Singh had to offer them.

The British authorities had by now learnt that Napoleon was contemplating the subjugation of India in conjunction with the Persians and the Turks. So they finally made up their mind to take the princes between the Jamuna and the Sultej under their protection and sent envoys to Lahore, Kabul, Sindh and Persia to arrange alliances. In the beginning of 1809, the British issued a proclamation from Delhi declaring the Cis-Sutlej chiefs to be under their protection. These chiefs were mostly Sikhs but there were a few Muslim and Hindu princes also. Ranjit Singh was very suspicious and did not like this interference of the British, for it was his intention to bring all these chiefs under his sway sooner or later. His ambitions received a rude shock, for he was

now compelled to remain on the right bank of the Sutlej on pain of war. At the same time he was not prepared to arouse the hostility of a military power like that of the English, so he yielded. He entered into a treaty of peace and friendship with the British at Amritsar in April 1809. The terms of this treaty he continued to observe till the end of his life in 1839, though there were some differences with the British about its interpretation on a few occasions, e.g., when Ranjit Singh wanted to conquer Sindh and the British prevented him from doing so (1834–36).

The period between 1809 and 1824 was utilised by the Maharaja to consolidate his dominion. In 1818, he captured Multan, in the next year annexed Kashmir, in 1820 took the Derajat, and in 1823 Peshawar. By 1831, he was supreme in the Punjab and master of Kashmir, Multan and Peshawar. He defeated the Wahabis who had declared *Jihad* against Sikh rule in the Punjab. He now turned his attention towards Sindh, as that was the only direction left in which he could extend his power. Here, too, he was restrained by his powerful allies, the English, who were pushing forward their schemes for opening the Indus to navigation for purposes of trade and commerce. They told Ranjit Singh that his attempt to conquer Sindh would interfere with their commercial schemes. The English had also political reasons for restraining him, as they did not like the idea of the extension of Sikh power to the borders of their possessions in Bombay. He finally yielded and gave up his designs on Sindh (1836). Maharaja Ranjit Singh continued to rule successfully over his dominions till his death on 27th June, 1839.

3. Society and Civilisation during the Mughal Period, 1526–1818

During the Mughal period, a common civilisation grew up in the greater part of India. Under the unifying influences of a powerful state, which established a common system of administration, the material conditions of life became similar all over India. The maintenance of universal peace gave opportunity to the moral forces to so shape the minds of the people as to evolve a common outlook upon life, which expressed itself in similar spiritual and social ideals and a common art and literature. Both Muslims and Hindus contributed to this development, and in fact, the civilisation of the later Middle Age may appropriately be described as the Indo-Moslem or Muslim-Hindu civilisation.

Although a common civilisation appeared, its unity was based

upon a diversity of languages, religions, systems of personal law, and a variety of customs and manners in the country. In this vast country where the means of transport and communication were primitive, it was difficult for people to travel and mix, and inter-mingle on a large scale. Living in their own regions the masses were on the whole isolated from one another and, therefore, followed their own regional ways little affected by mutual contacts.

Thus, although the Mughal empire established political unity over the greater part of India, it was founded more on the loyalty and obedience of the chiefs, the landlords and the officials than on the consciousness of national unity among the people. The people remained divided into tribes, castes and clans, and failed to develop the ties which could bind them all into a single society. But a kind of group feeling did make its appearance during this period, viz., the sentiments of the community of religion. For the first time the feeling arose that the followers of the faiths which had originated in India, and which recognised the *Vedas* as their sacred book and the Brahmanas as their religious leaders, ought, in spite of differences of sect and caste to form a single community. At the same time the idea of communal unity received impetus among the Muslims, for although they too were divided by race and tribe, by religion they were one. The sentiment of religious community, however, remained weak throughout the period, and had little influence upon the public conduct of the princes and peoples of India. The development of modern Indian languages also encouraged and strengthened group consciousness.

The most important results of the Muslim rule in India were:

(1) It strengthened the tendencies towards the unity of the people living in the different regions of India and the awareness of the difference of India from all other countries of the world.

(2) It encouraged the growth of a common religious outlook by the spread of mystic orders, so that, if the Hindus laid stress upon the principles of Vedanta, the unity of God and the identity of God and man, the Muslim mystics also laid emphasis on the unity of God—Wahadatul Wujud and Wahadat al Shuhud (unity of divine substance or its manifestations), and on the essential identity of the divine and the human soul.

(3) It promoted among the Hindus the rational outlook. It discouraged caste differences based on birth, superstitious practices and beliefs.

(4) It increased the contacts of India with the world through

the travels of religious missionaries and scholars, through commercial intercourse with countries of western Asia and Europe, and through pilgrimages to holy places.

(5) It gave impetus to foreign and internal trade and to industry, with the result that the middle class of business men—bankers, merchants, craftsmen—engaged in luxury goods, became influential.

Social and Economic Conditions.—The people of India were divided into three main classes. The highest class consisted of the landowners and government dignitaries. The class consisted of a number of grades, from the group of Rajas, zamindars of large estates and higher mansabdars known as *Umras* enjoying large jagirs, to petty landowners and troopers called *Abadis*. This was the privileged class which ran the administrative machinery and supported government.

The second class comprised the community of learned people—priests (*Pandits* and *Ulema*), scholars, teachers, judicial officers, writers, poets, physicians, artists and architects, both Hindu and Muslim. They too exercised some influence on the policies of government, which recognised their services by granting them lands and gifts. They enjoyed the respect and patronage of their communities.

The next class which ranked below the first two classes consisted of merchants, bankers, contractors and businessmen who were well-to-do, but who had little political influence.

Below them were the masses, divided into artisans, cultivators and labourers. Some of them lived in towns but their numbers were small. The vast majority lived in villages. The villages were small self-sufficient and isolated units of population. For purposes of administration, as for social and economic life, they were self-dependent units. They produced most articles of necessity, food, clothes and furniture, themselves and mainly for their own use and consumption. Their cultivators grew the crops of grain, spices, oilseeds, sugarcane and cotton; their craftsmen manufactured the wood, brass, copper and iron furniture, tools, utensils and arms; and their artisans wove dyed cloth, produced leather goods and built houses. The methods of agriculture were simple and the tools used in the cottage industries primitive. Machinery was unknown. Human labour and animals supplied all the power that was needed. Specialisation was little advanced, for the village had to find all its own supplies. All kinds of crops were grown in the same village.

Industry was carried on in accordance with traditional methods by hereditary workers belonging to fixed castes. Wages were paid in kind, and prices and wages fixed by custom. Money was little used, and much of the exchange of produce was by barter and payment of services in kind. Land was extensive, but the population was stationary. The people enjoyed plenty and there was no demand for change and improvement.

Besides the villages were the towns which were large centres of population. They had risen at places which were sanctified by religion, such as Prayag (Allahabad), Varanasi, Ajmer and Mathura; or were chosen by chiefs, princes or kings for their residence, as Delhi, Lahore, Golkonda, Bijapur, Dacca, Tanjore; or marked important sites on the trade routes, as Mirzapur, Farrukhabad, Broach, etc. The towns were populous homes of a varied life. Industries flourished there under the patronage of the courts or the stimulus of a large population. Bankers and money-lenders, manufacturers of India's exquisite silk and cotton textiles, jewels, and arms, and other costly and luxurious goods, and traders who exported these articles to near and distant lands, lived in them. Architects, painters, poets, artists, and literary men found profitable occupation and support there. At the time 'when the merchant adventurers from the west made their first appearance in India, the industrial development of this country was not inferior to that of the more advanced European nations'. In the words of Professor Weber 'the skill of the Indians in the production of delicate woven fabrics, in the mixing of colours, the working of metals and precious stones and all manner of technical arts has from very early times enjoyed a world-wide celebrity'. Indian-manufactured goods were exported to Western Asia and to the countries of Europe, and it was the profit of the trade in these goods which attracted European merchants to India during this period.

Transport.—The means of communication between villages and towns and the different parts of the country were scanty, and roads unsatisfactory. Only a few trunk roads were constructed by the Mughal emperors, and they were really the ancient routes which the Indian rulers had kept up. They were, however, not metalled properly. The branch roads were tracks cut by village carts. Many interior parts could only be reached by pack animals. Some of the large rivers were used as highways of commerce, but there were no canals which could be navigated.

The state of communications was thus very imperfect. During the dry season the bullock carts would move over them with light loads at a slow pace and by short stages, but the hilly country throughout the year, and the plains during the rains,



A Mughal means of Transport.
(*Indian Museum.*)

were practically impassable. It was highly expensive and extremely difficult to carry cheap and heavy goods from one place to another. The different parts of the country were thus isolated and there was little contact between villages and towns. The volume of internal trade was small and the country was divided into numerous markets independent of one another. The villages were forced to be self-sufficient, and in times of scarcity and famine the affected region suffered great hardships. The lack of movement affected the economic life, which was unprogressive and dominated by custom and tradition.

Social System.—The peoples of India were divided into many groups on the basis of region, race, language, religion, caste.

Regional divisions were connected with racial and linguistic factors. In northern India, for instance, the people of the Punjab spoke the Punjabi language and were mainly descended from Jats and Rajputs. In Rajasthan dwelt the clans of Rajputs,

some of whom claimed to have sprung from the ancient Kshatriyas. They spoke Rajasthani dialects. Bengal was the home of Bengali-speaking people who were a mixture of races. The Maharashtrians and the Gujaratis living in different territories and using different languages formed independent groups. So did the Telugus, the Tamils, the Kannadas, and the Malayalis of the south.

Among the Muslims the Deccanis were distinguished from the Hindustanis. Racially too they were divided among the Turanis who came from Central Asia, the Iranis whose original home was Iran, the Pathans from Afghanistan, and the Hindustanis who were either converts from Hinduism or long settled foreigners. The native language of those coming from Central Asia was Turkish, of the Iranis and Khorasanis Persian, of the Pathans Pushtu, and so on. But those settled in India spoke Indian regional languages.

Another basis of division was religion and sect. The majority of the inhabitants of India were Hindus. But they were divided into sects—Vaishnava, Shaiva, Shakta and others. Even the sects were broken up into sub-sects, e.g., the followers of Ramanuja, Vallabhacharya, Chaitanya, etc., and worshippers of Rama or Krishna.

The Muslims had two main divisions—*Sunnis* and *Shias*, and some minor ones.

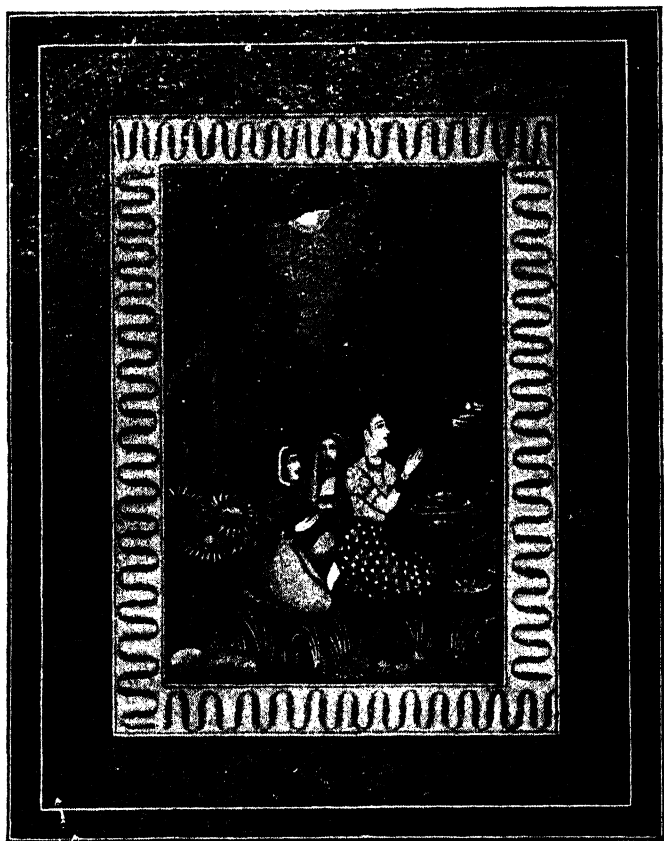
Then there were numerous castes both among the Hindus and the Muslims. The old Hindu castes and sub-castes continued to divide the Hindus into higher and lower social grades. These castes and sub-castes were still connected with occupations, but there were many exceptions. The main functions of the caste were (1) to determine the circle within which marriage and dining was permitted, and (2) to fix the status of the individual in society.

Among the Muslims apart from the Sayyids who regarded themselves as descended from the Prophet's family, there were the Shaikhs who were looked upon as inferior to the Sayyids. The Mughals and Pathans formed military castes. Among the converts most continued to follow the occupations of their forefathers, for example, weavers, carders, dyers, elephant drivers, masons, etc.

The Hindus and Muslims both recognised the difference between the upper class which supplied priests, scholars, soldiers

and government officials, and the lower class comprised of artisans, craftsmen, peasants and labourers.

The class inequalities, the religious, linguistic and caste differences stood in the way of the formation of a nation, with consciousness of common political interests. Nevertheless the



Shiva Ratri.
(Rajput School.)

Indian cultures shared a similarity of spiritual outlook; of moral standards and social attitudes. India's geography, economy and administrative system stamped upon its civilisation a mark of originality which distinguished it from all other civilisations of the world. The basic elements of nationality were not wanting

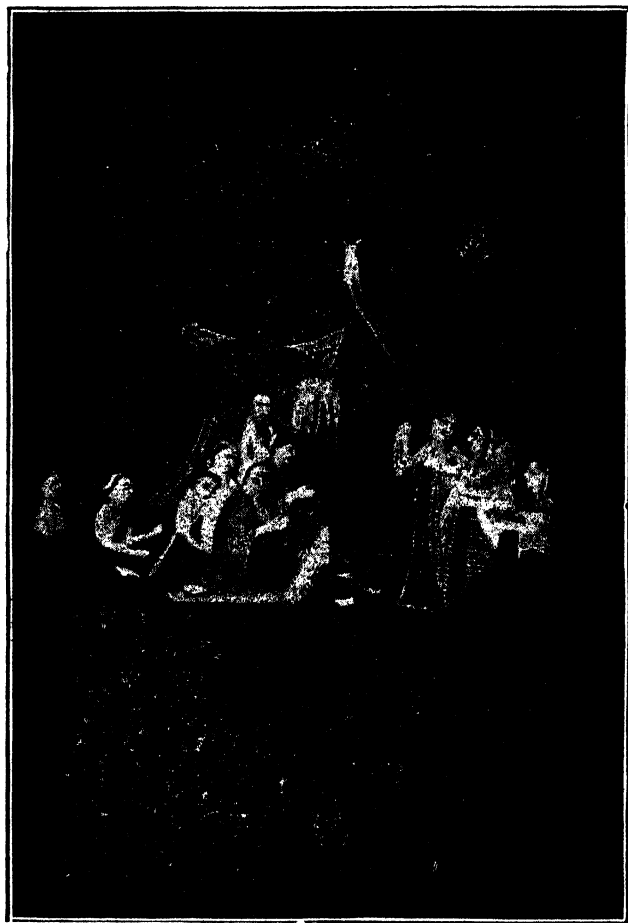
but the feeling of nationality did not appear till the nineteenth century.

The different groups—occupational, tribal, sectarian, and territorial—regulated their affairs themselves. They had their own chiefs and leaders who controlled the members in accordance with the customary laws. The groups were more or less independent. Their chiefs and leaders rendered homage to the emperor, and obeyed his commands. But their loyalty was based on personal and traditional grounds and not on grounds of national interests. They were attached to the emperor or king, but were not necessarily attached to one another. The groups, therefore, held together not in a stable, organic unity, but in a loose confederation. The consciousness that India formed a single society or nation did not exist among them.

Religions, Customs and Manners.—Many religions existed in India in this age. The most widely prevalent were of course Hinduism and Islam. But there were other religions, too, e.g., Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Sikhism. Among the followers of the Hindu and the Muslim religions there were three classes of people. In the first place there were the learned men, that is, the Pandits and Maulvis who adhered rigidly to what they regarded to be the strict letter of their sacred scriptures. Many of them were scholarly men, some of them were genuinely pious, but some were bigots. Then there were the ignorant and superstitious masses whose religion was a matter of blind faith, of performance of customary acts of piety like fasts and pilgrimages. They worshipped relics and graves of saints; believed in supernatural beings and ghosts, etc., and practised all kinds of superstitious rites and ceremonies.

But in the middle were many in this country for whom religion stood for the love of God and of man, and for the sanctification of life. The outlook of these, whether they were Hindus or Muslims, was the same. They believed that the world was a vale of sorrow, and the only way of escaping from it, and of attaining true happiness, was by turning their hearts away from the temptations of the senses and taking refuge in complete surrender to the will of God whose unlimited grace alone could save man. It was therefore necessary to place oneself under the control of a spiritual guide and preceptor, and to follow the path of inner discipline which led to the goal of realisation of God. Both among the Hindus and the Muslims there were orders which saintly preceptors had established. The heads of these orders ministered to the

needs of their disciples. Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya, Jnandeva, Dadu, Malukdas, Ramdas, and others among the Hindus had founded such orders. Among the Muslims the most widespread



Madar Shah, a Muslim Saint, giving an Audience.
(Mughal School, XVIIIth Century.)
(British Museum.)

order was the Chishtiya, which was founded by Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti. It had many branches like the *Nizamiya*. The other orders were the *Naqshabandiya*, the *Qadiriya*, the *Suhrawardiya*, and the *Shattariya*.

The Hindus and the Muslims came so close together that common customs and manners grew up among them. The Muslims adopted a great many customs of the Hindus, and the Hindus those of the Muslims. The ceremonies which they performed on the occasion of the birth of a child, or of the beginning of his education or at the time of marriage or at death were alike. They celebrated their fairs, feasts and festivals in the same way. Their superstitions were common. Their amusements, games and exercises were identical. The virtues which they esteemed and the vices which they condemned were the same. Their manners of dealing with superiors, equals and inferiors were similar. In their domestic life, household arrangements, dress, ornaments, arms and armour, in short, in most of the details of their living, it was difficult to distinguish the one from the other.

Literature and Art.—The Hindus and the Muslims studied one another's language, literature, philosophy, and religion. Not a few Muslims learnt Hindi and other Indian languages, and some studied Sanskrit also. Numerous Sanskrit works were translated into Persian, including the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, the *Yoga Vashishtha*, the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Puranas*, etc. A number of commentaries on Hindu *Shastras* and *Vidyas* were written by Muslim scholars. The Muslims contributed to the enrichment of the Hindi, Bengali, and Punjabi languages and literature. Raskhan composed beautiful devotional songs in honour of Sri Krishna, Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan composed *Dohas* on moral subjects in Hindi, and Mirza Husain Ali composed songs in praise of Kali in Bengali. The Muslim writers composed songs to illustrate the Hindu musical *Ragas* and *Raginis*, and adapted Hindu stories to the modern Indian languages.

Imperial unity, religious reform, peace and plenty stimulated the rapid growth of literature in these languages.

It is impossible to mention the names of all the great writers in the many important languages, for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries abound in them. But some of them stand out as makers of their languages and creators of great masterpieces.

Hindi, which was the most widely known language of India, and which occupied the proud position of the common language of those times, produced the largest number of great poets. Among the religious poets the foremost name is that of Goswami Tulasi Das (1532–1623), whose *Ramcharit Manas* occupies an

honoured place in the treasury of the masterpieces of the world. Sur Das, who is almost equally famous, is the author of the *Sursagar*, which is a collection of songs in praise of Krishna. Among bardic poets Bhushan, who extolled the deeds of Shivaji, and among sentimental and artistic poets Keshava (1555-1617), Behari Lal (1603-63), and Deva (1673-1745) excel all others.



Mughal Ladies playing polo.
(Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.)

Bengali poetry was the medium of the religious revival started by Chaitanya, and it flourished greatly in this period. Its greatest writers in the seventeenth century were Kashiram and Mukund Ram—whose poem *Chandi* and *Srimanta Saudagar* are admirable,—and Alaul, the Muslim poet, who translated the *Padmavat* of Jayasi into Bengali, and wrote a number of other works.

The great Marathi poets were the saints Ramdas (1608-81), who was the preceptor of Shivaji and who composed the *Dasabodh*, and Tukaram (1608-49) the singer of the *Abhangas* (hymns). The most noted poet of Gujarat was Premanand (1636-1734), who was the maker of the Gujarati literature. Among the Dravidian languages Tamil witnessed a religious revival similar to that in the north. The sect of the Siddhars

resembled the followers of Kabir, and their Tamil poems express heterodox sentiments of the same nature. In Kannada, too, the Vaishnava revival produced religious poems composed by the members of the sect known as *Dasas* in the sixteenth century, and by *Lakshmish* in the seventeenth.

The contact of the Hindus and the Muslims created a new language, which was known at first as Dakhini or Hindi, but which is now called Urdu or Hindusthani. Although its origin dates from the early Middle Age, its literature developed during the Mughal period. The first important writers were the Sufi saints of the Deccan who composed poems to explain religious subjects. Then the nobles and the courtiers and even the Sultans took it up. The language follows Punjabi and western Hindi in structure and grammar, has assimilated numerous Persian and Arabic words, and follows the poetical forms of the Persian language. Wali (1668–1744), who came from the Deccan, though not the first, was the greatest of the early Urdu poets.

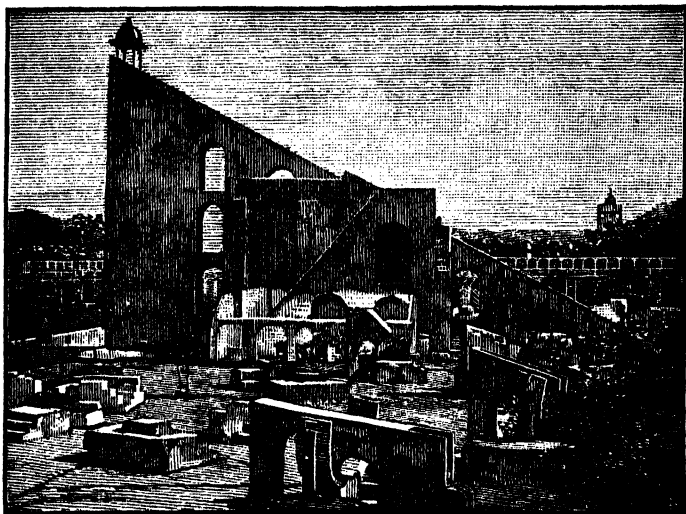
Besides the growth of the modern Indian languages, the old classical languages continued to flourish. Great Persian prose writers and poets adorned the courts of the Mughal emperors, whose books on history, philosophy, and theology, and whose poems in different forms and on different subjects, are admired even to the present day.

Sanskrit continued to be the literary language of the Pandits both in the North and the South, although only a few works of merit were produced during these times.

But a remarkable development was the translation of Sanskrit works into Persian and of Persian and Arabic works in the Indian languages.

The process of assimilation was at work in the Indian arts also. The architecture of the later Middle Age was the result of the combination of the Hindu and the Islamic elements. The Hindus contributed the ground-plans of the buildings and many ornamental details, and imparted solidity to the structures. The Muslims popularised the use of arches and domes, restrained the Hindu tendency to a profusion of ornaments, introduced new ornaments including the geometrical pattern called the Arabesque, and imparted a peculiar grace to the buildings. The buildings, erected during the period, whether by the Hindus or the Muslims, show these common characteristics.

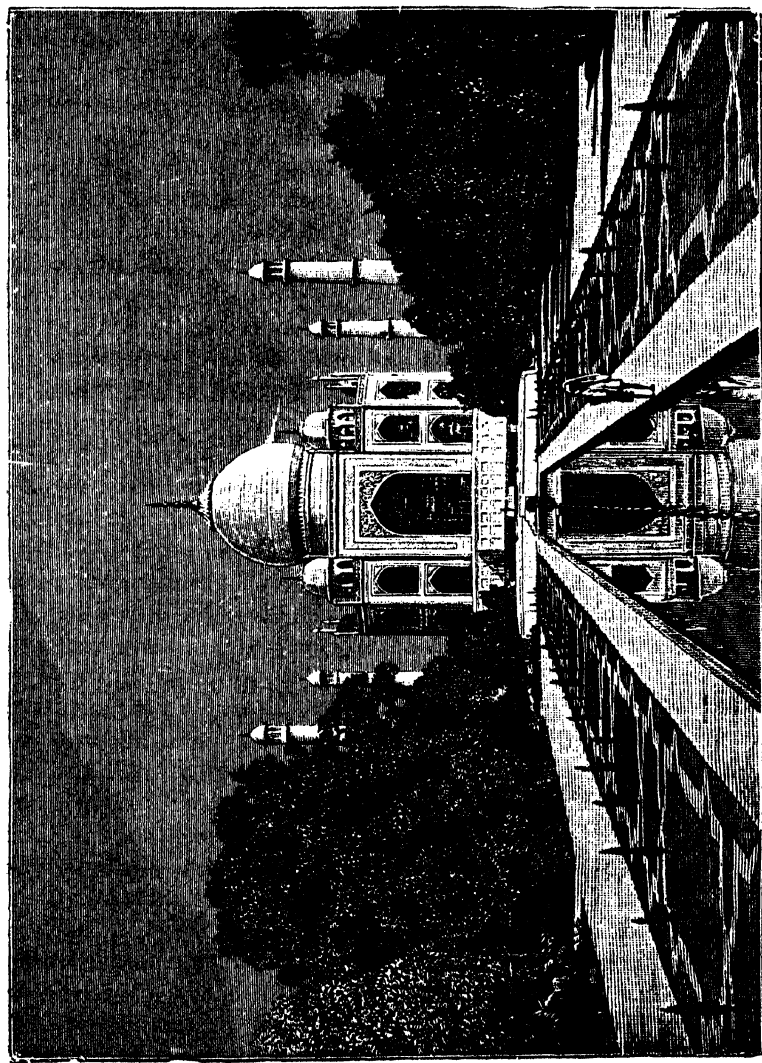
Among the buildings erected by the Hindus, the most famous are the temples of Brindaban, the Jaina temples of Sonagarh



Jai Singh's Observatory.

in Bundelkhand, and of Muktagiri near Gawilgarh, Ahalyabai's temple at Ellora, the temple at Kantanagar in Bengal, the Visheshwar temple at Varanasi, and the golden temple of the Sikhs at Amritsar. Numerous palaces and cenotaphs were built by the Hindu rajas in accordance with the principles of the new style (Indo-Moslem). The great monuments of the Mughals were mostly constructed in the same style. Among them are the great buildings of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri—the Great Mosque, the House of Birbal and the Panch Mahal. Akbar's palaces at Agra, Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra and the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daula belong to Jahangir's reign. Shah Jahan was, however, the most magnificent builder among the Mughal emperors, and of his buildings the Taj Mahal is the most famous. These buildings count among the greatest architectural productions of the world. In addition, the Mughals built a number of forts, palaces, hunting kiosks, tombs, etc.

The Indian painting of this period shows the same tendencies. The traditions of the art of Ajanta persisted throughout the Middle Age. When the Mughals arrived in India they brought with them a taste for the art of Persia and Transoxiana. Babur and his successors set before the artists of their court, many of whom were Hindus, the examples of the paintings of Bihzad and his school, who were the leaders of the Muslim art of Central



The Taj Mahal, Agra.

Asia. From the mingling of these two streams the new art of the later Middle Age was born.

The earliest paintings, which appear to have been executed in the time of Humayun to illustrate the story of Amir Hamzah, show the domination of Persian art. But under the patronage of Akbar, who regarded painting as a means to the realisation of the power of God, painting became more Indian. Although Persian artists, like Khwaja Abdus Samad, Mir Ali and Furrukh were employed as teachers of the Indian painters, the latter created a style of their own. Among the best painters were Basawan and Daswanth, who along with others were employed to illustrate the great manuscript of *Razmnamah* (the Persian translation of the *Mahabharata*), *Baburnamah*, *Akbarnamah*, and Nizami's poems.

During the reign of Jahangir, who was even a keener patron and critic of art than his great father, painting attained a perfection unknown before. The artists of the courts of Jahangir and Shah Jahan emancipated themselves from the Persian influence and set up independent Indian styles. Abul Hasan, Muhammad Nadir Samarqandi, Mansur, Murad, Mir Muhammad, Bishandas, Gobardhan, Manohar, Daulat, Hunhar, Chitarman, and Bhagwati were among the great masters of these reigns. With the accession of Aurangzeb painting declined at the court, though it continued to flourish in Rajputana and the Hill States.

Principles of Mughal Government.—It is the duty of every government to secure the life, property and happiness of the people over whom it rules. It must safeguard the rights of the individual from encroachment by others, and defend society from internal dangers and external invasions. The necessary activities of the state by which it regulates the affairs of a country are usually divided into three departments—legislative, executive and judicial. Besides these, the state has to undertake many activities for the betterment of society.

The Mughal Emperors had assumed the title of *Padshah*, and thus rejected the authority of the Caliph of Islam. Akbar went a step further. His *Ulema* issued a declaration recognising him as *Imam-i-Adil* (the arbiter of law and justice), and *Amirul Mominin* (the chief of the faithful). The emperors were regarded as divine representatives who were the shadow of God upon earth, and the people considered it auspicious to obtain their *Darshan* (view) in the morning. Similarly the Marathas looked upon Shivaji as the incarnation of God.

The exaltation of this position enhanced their prestige and inspired among the people awe and obedience for the monarch. The high status was accompanied with symbols of authority like prostration before the person of the ruler, beating of special drums, use of the royal seal and the ceremony of weighing against precious articles. The monarch gave audience at *Darbars*, and received homage seated on a throne wearing a glittering crown and gold embroidered robes. He alone made the higher appointments of ministers and mansabdars, conferred titles and gave morning appearances.

Although the monarchs lived in great luxury they led an extremely busy life. They were engaged in state duties from early morning till late at night. Much of their time was spent on warlike expeditions and they had to lead their armies in the field of battle against rebels and enemies or in wars of expansion of the empire. Most of the Mughal emperors were efficient administrators and brave and skilful generals. Unfortunately the successors of Aurangzeb were largely devoid of these qualities. Again, excepting Aurangzeb, the others were on the whole tolerant and free from bigotry. Akbar was of course the most shining example of this policy. Even Aurangzeb gave high appointments to Hindus and made grants to Hindu temples.

The monarch was the patron of arts, letters and industry. Great works of public utility as well as magnificent monuments perpetuating the glory and splendour of the empire were created. Painting and other arts were stimulated and *Karkhanas* were maintained where skilled craftsmen produced articles of use and luxury. Poets, writers, historians, and musicians were patronised and lavishly rewarded.

The Emperor was the highest authority in the state and the entire machinery of government was under his command. But in order to discharge his functions he needed helpers and assistants.

Among their ministers the most important were the *Vakil*, the representative of the ruler, who could exercise any power on behalf of the monarch, the *Wazir* who was in charge of general administration, and next to him was the *Diwan* or the finance minister. Another minister was the *Mir Bakhshi* who was head of the military department. Then there was the *Sadr us Sudur* who presided over the departments of religious affairs and justice. An official of ministerial rank was *Khan-i-Saman* who controlled the *Karkhanas*. Under the ministers were many attached and subordinate departments entrusted with particular duties.

Law and Justice.—So far as legislation was concerned, the authority of the ruler was greatly limited. Most of the laws, whether relating to personal matters like marriage and inheritance, or to public affairs like crimes and punishments, were derived from the sacred books—for the Muslims from the Holy *Quran* and for the Hindus from the *Dharma Shastras*. The emperor could not change them or add to them. The courts which dispensed justice in accordance with these laws were presided over by men learned in the sacred literatures. For matters lying outside the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics, the emperor was regarded as the fountain of justice. For judicial administration he appointed the chief officer (*Qazi*) at the Centre, and subordinate officers in the provinces and districts to decide the civil cases of the Muslims and some criminal cases of both Hindus and Muslims.

The *Sadr* department dealt not only with justice but also religious endowments and patronage of the learned. Its head was known as the *Sadr us Sudur*, under whom were the provincial *Sadrs*. The judicial officers—*Qazis*, *Muftis* and *Mir Adils*, were under their supervision.

Administration.—The empire was divided into a number of provinces. In Akbar's time there were twelve provinces, which were increased to fifteen after the conquests in the Deccan. Their number increased to twenty under Shah Jahan, and to twenty-one or twenty-two under Aurangzeb.

The governor of a province was known as *Subahdar* or *Nazim*. His principal officers were *Diwan*, *Bakhshi*, *Sadr*, *Qazi*, *Kotwal* (chief of police) and *Waqianavis* (newswriter). The governor was appointed by the emperor and was responsible for peace, order and prosperity of the province. The *Diwan*, whose authority was independent of the governor, was responsible for the provincial finances and for the remission of the central share of revenue.

Each province comprised a number of districts or *Sarkars*. The head of the district was called *Faujdar* who was appointed by the emperor. He was in charge of law and order. Under him were *Kotwals*. The *Diwan* was assisted by the *Qanungos* and *Patwaris* who kept the accounts and the *Amils* and *Karoris* who collected the taxes and the land revenue. The district *Qazis* decided cases.

The *Sarkar* was divided into *Parganahs* which were administered by *Shiqdars*, *Amins*, *Qanungos* and *Qazis*. Each *Parganah* consisted of a number of villages whose affairs were managed by the village

Panchayat. Their revenue was collected by *Mugaddams* and *Chowdhris* and accounts kept by *Patwaris*.

The entire administration of the central, provincial and district governments was under the control and direction of the emperor. But in the making of laws his power was very limited, for the laws governing the civil and personal affairs of the Hindus and the Muslims were derived from their sacred books, and no one had the authority to change or modify them. These laws were interpreted and applied by the learned Pandits and Ulema.

The ruler could make regulations concerning matters like land revenue and taxation. The criminal cases were referred to *Qazis* for decision, from which in serious cases an appeal could be made to the king.

Services.—There was one combined civil and military service. The Officers known as *Mansabdars* were divided into numerous grades from the commander of 10 horses to 7,000 or more.

The imperial army was composed of the contingents of the *Mansabdars*, the contingents maintained by the central government and the contingents supplied by the tributary chiefs. Apart from the cavalry which was the main force, there was an elephant force, an infantry and an artillery. The Mughal navy was negligible.

Revenue.—The principal source of the revenue of the empire was land revenue. Besides there were custom duties, taxes and *zakat* (religious contribution by the Muslims), tolls and octroi, and tribute from the princes. The *Jaziya* (capitation tax on the Hindus) was levied by Aurangzeb, but abolished after his death. The army, the Court and the services were the chief items of expenditure. Public works like roads and bridges, and buildings and presents and rewards were other heads of expenditure.

The Religious Policy of the Mughals.—Under the Mughal rule India enjoyed peace and prosperity. The Mughal emperors were men of broad minds and wide sympathies. They were soldiers who spent most of their lives in adventures, war and administration. They loved the pleasure and enjoyment of arts, and had little time or inclination for religious pursuits. Few of them were bigots.

Among the Emperors Akbar was the most enlightened. He held religious conferences with the Hindus, Jains and Christians and discussed religious questions with the different Muslim sects. He came to believe in the truth of all great religions and adopted the policy of universal peace (*Sulh Kul*). He removed the dis-

abilities of the Hindus, abolished the *Jaziya* and the pilgrim tax, prohibited cow slaughter, restricted the killing of animals for food, and adopted some of the customs of the Hindus like *tuladan* (weighing against precious objects and giving them in alms) and *Jharoka darshan* (appearing at the palace window).

He attempted to end the differences among the schools of Muslim jurists by assuming the position of *Imam-i-Adil* (arbiter of law and justice). Lastly, he established the *Din-i-Ilahi*, a cult which accepted the emperor as the spiritual leader. Its disciples were expected to have complete trust in Akbar and observe the rules regarding conduct made by him.

Akbar's successors were not as liberal in religious matters as he, but both Jahangir and Shah Jahan were on the whole tolerant. Shah Jahan's eldest son Dara Shukoh was a true follower of Akbar. He translated the *Upanishads* himself, and had the *Bhagavad Gita* and *Yoga Vashishtha* translated by scholars. He held intercourse with both Hindu Pandits and Sadhus and Muslim Sufis. He wrote a book to show that Hinduism and Islam taught the same truth.

Aurangzeb alone among the Mughal emperors had narrow views on religion. He was personally pious, even ascetical, but he was anxious to strengthen Islam. His attitude towards other religions was therefore rigid. He imposed *Jaziya* and other restrictions on the Hindus in accordance with what he considered to be the injunction of Muslim law, e.g., he demolished some temples and disallowed building of new ones.

Although the Mughal government was despotic in character, the spirit which guided the conduct of the emperors was benevolent and paternal. They 'lived amongst their people, and amongst their nobles, as kind and condescending parents amongst their children; nor did they suffer the dust of sorrow to darken the heart of any of the creatures of God, by a show of tenderness to one part of the people, and of rudeness to the other. For they looked upon them all, whether conquerors or conquered, with an equal eye; so that for several ages together, down to the times of Shah Jahan, everything in Hindustan was quietness, love and harmony.'

The European Travellers.—The wealth of India and the splendour of the Mughal court attracted the attention of European nations. Ambassadors, merchants and missionaries came to India to obtain trading privileges and opportunities to spread the Christian religion. During the reign of Akbar, the Jesuit

missionaries from Goa came to his court at the invitation of the emperor. During Jahangir's reign, Captain Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe were sent by the English king to seek the permission of the emperor to establish factories and to carry on trade. The two famous French travellers, Bernier and Tavernier, and the Italian Manucci, visited India during Shah Jahan's time and stayed on during Aurangzeb's reign. All of them have left behind accounts of what they saw and heard; their descriptions are interesting but not altogether reliable.

The Condition of India during the Eighteenth Century.—

The Mughal empire, which had attained a high degree of prosperity and advancement, rapidly declined during the eighteenth century. Financial mismanagement was its starting point. The expenses of the state grew rapidly because of the personal extravagance or of the wars of the emperors. Their revenues were affected by the growth of the jagir system, and by the farming out of the land revenue. The wars of succession spread ingratitude and encouraged hypocrisy and selfishness which undermined the loyalty of the imperial nobility. The custom of lease of office, which was introduced after Aurangzeb, spread corruption, and the executive officers became rapacious and oppressive. The judicial offices were put on sale and justice naturally disappeared. The people were harassed and distressed, they had no redress for their grievances and no remedy against injustice. The rents from land decreased, husbandry declined and hatred towards government grew. The nobles and the landowners became violent, and chaos and anarchy prevailed in the land. Everyone thought of his own personal interests, and no one paid heed to the interests of others. The bonds of morality and loyalty were weakened and the state was enfeebled. The result was that internal dissensions broke out, the empire lost all control, and the foreigners, taking advantage of its distractions, brought about its destruction.

Art and literature, which continued in a decadent state, reflected the misery and the shame of the times and the disgust of the people with life. The literature of the eighteenth century was depraved in taste, style and spirit, although it acquired glittering polish in form and displayed great wealth of words, far-fetched similes and clever expressions. The poetry which flourished at the courts of the powerless Mughal emperors and the provincial governors was artificial and sensual. In Urdu, Mir represents in his deeply pathetic, Sauda in his bitterly sarcastic,

Nasikh and Atash in artificial and sensual verse, the state of this society. Bengali, in the poetry of Bharatchandra, Ramprasad and his contemporaries, shows the same tendencies.

In Maharashtra, under the patronage of the Peshwas and the Maratha chiefs, religious, heroic (Pawada) and erotic (*Lavani*) poetry flourished. Moropant, who rendered the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagavad Gita* into Marathi, Prabhakar and Honaji Bal, the well-known heroic poets, Anant Phandi and Ramjoshi, the erotic ones, and Mahipati, the biographer of saints, lived in this age. The narratives of historical events (Bakhars) were composed in prose. In the Tamil literature of the eighteenth century two names deserve mention. The first is Tayumanavar, a Shaiva, who composed short religious poems (*Padal*) breathing earnestness and poetry, and distinguished by beauty of language. The second is Beschi, who was an Italian missionary and who wrote the *Tem-bavani*, the story of the *Bible* in Tamil.

Architecture and painting also repeat the story of imperial decadence. Aurangzeb's buildings show a rapid decline in taste, of which the tomb of his favourite wife Rabia Daurani at Aurangabad is an example. In the eighteenth century the emperors of Delhi lacked the resources of erecting imposing monuments, but the provincial rulers continued to adorn their capitals with buildings. The Nawab Wazirs of Oudh erected a number of them; but these buildings exhibit a vitiated taste. The best among them are the tomb of Safdar Jung at Delhi and the Great Imambara at Lucknow.

Outside the centres of Mughal authority, however, schools of art continued to flourish during this century which still produced beautiful specimens of painting. The vigour and freshness of the Mughal style is not there and the portraits lack individuality and distinction, but the pictures revived the tradition of the old Hindu art and were inspired by popular and mythological themes. The painters belonged roughly to two schools—Rajasthani and Pahari; Jaipur was the most important centre of the first, and Kangra and Tehri-Garhwal of the second. Of the painters of the latter school Mola Ram is the most famous.

CHAPTER VII

THE MODERN AGE

British Rule in India

The Modern Age of the history of India begins with the establishment of British rule in 1818. During this age occurred those changes in the conditions of Indian life which have transformed society. The mediaeval ideals of personal conduct, of political behaviour of the rulers and the ruled, of social relations between classes, castes, and groups have been gradually modified. From the variety of peoples divided by caste, creed and race we begin to develop one society united by bonds of common love for the country. The mediaeval distinctions of high and low, in-caste and out-caste, touchable and untouchable, noble and common, begin to give place to the idea of the equality of all.

Among the new forces which begin to operate in India during this period some are material and others moral. The introduction of European machinery, which harnesses the powers of nature, such as steam and electricity, revolutionised the economic conditions of India. The rapid means of travel and communication reduced distances, and brought peoples of different parts nearer. The growth of population and the occupation of forests and uninhabited lands, increased contact between different parts of the country, and made the realization of the unity of the Indian peoples possible.

Among the moral factors which helped this transformation were the spread of the idea of nationalism, and the reawakening of the spirit of rational enquiry and criticism, and of social progress and individual self-assertion. They were the result of contact with the life and ideals of the people of the West, and the study of English literature. Peace, political unity and social equality which Britain maintained through an efficient machinery of administration, and a uniform system of laws, and education powerfully assisted the process of change.

The history of this period may be conveniently divided into three parts: (1) from 1818 to 1858, (2) from 1858 to 1919, and (3) from 1919 to 1947. During the first part, the British dominion is completed and the foundations of the system of administration

are laid. During the second part, the effects of British rule begin to appear in the form of movements for the achievement of national unity and political, social and religious reform. During the third part, the dawn of self-government begins and independence is at length attained.

1. The Rule of the Company, 1818–1858

(i) Changes in the Constitution of the Company

The East India Company, which was originally a commercial concern established by the merchants of England to carry on trade between India and England, had become a political body which ruled over Indian territories conquered by its armies. This change in the character of the Company brought about a modification in the opinion of the English people and Government towards the Company.

The result was that in 1813 the charter of the Company was revised. The monopoly of the trade of the Company was abolished and the sovereignty of the British government clearly asserted.

By the Act of 1833, the Company continued as the rulers of the British dominion in India, but ceased to be a trading concern. The Act empowered the Governor-General in Council to make laws for the people of India. In 1835, the North-West Province (later known as the United Provinces) was separated from Bengal, and a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for its government.

The Act of 1853 made it possible to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal. It established a Council of twelve for legislative purposes, consisting of the Governor-General, the members of his Executive Council and others.

The Act of 1858 vested in the Crown all the territories in the possession, or under the government, of the East India Company. The powers and duties, officers, property and forces of the Company were transferred to the Secretary of State for India, and the Council for India was created to advise and assist him. The appointments of the Governor-General and the other high officers were to be made by the Crown, or by the Secretary of State. The Proclamation of Queen Victoria on 1st November, 1858, announced the change to the people and princes of India.

The period from 1818 to 1858 is remarkable for the development of the administrative system, and the establishment of peace and order in place of anarchy and lawlessness. The British

conquerors established in India a uniform system of laws and government, and thereby created a sense of political unity among the peoples and princes of India. They also introduced beneficent social measures and western education, which stimulated social progress and religious reform. The introduction of railways, posts and telegraphs, and the building of canals and roads laid the foundations of the economic unity of India which prepared a basis for national solidarity. The governors-general sent out from Britain were the agents of the British government who acted under the direction, control and supervision of the Secretary of State for India. Therefore the policies followed by the governors-general and the important measures adopted by them were in reality the decisions of the government in Britain. Hence these policies and measures need not be described under each governor-general separately. In the forty years, from 1818 to 1858, eight governors-general held the post, beginning from the Marquess of Hastings (1813-1823) and ending with Earl Canning (1856-62).

(ii) The Development of Administration

(a) **The Land Revenue Settlements.**—When the British conquered the province of Bengal they took over the Mughal system of administration, but gradually changed it to suit their purpose. The machinery of administration is sustained by government's income and in those days the main source of income was land revenue. It was, therefore, necessary to organise properly the land revenue system of each province as it passed under British rule. The system of Permanent Settlement followed in Bengal was found defective, and, therefore, this system was not introduced in the new territories. In the Presidency of Madras, Sir Thomas Munro found that under the Indian governments the rulers did not employ zamindars for the collection of revenue, but dealt directly with the cultivators. He maintained the old practice, and did not allow the introduction of intermediaries between the peasants and the government. The land in the possession of each holder was surveyed. It was assessed according to rates which could be revised, and the holder paid the land revenue directly to the government. This is known as the *Rayatwari* settlement.

In the Bombay Presidency, Mountstuart Elphinstone followed a similar method. Each field was surveyed, its soils were classified, the rates of assessment were calculated every thirty years,

and the occupant of the field had to pay the assessed revenue to the government.

In the province of Agra, the *Mahalwari* settlement was made. The estate or group of holdings, owned either by a single owner or by a community, was the unit of assessment. The land revenue was payable to the government by the zamindar, or the lambardar, who represented the village community. The rent which the tenant should pay to the zamindar was also settled by the government. The assessment of rent and revenue was revised after every thirty years.

In the Punjab, the settlement followed the lines laid down in the province of Agra. In the other provinces similar systems, with modifications suited to local needs, were introduced.

For the proper working of these systems Boards of Revenue were established under whom the commissioners of revenue and collectors worked. The collectors were entrusted with judicial and executive duties also. In Madras, however, no commissioners were appointed.

The introduction of systematic settlements in the provinces, and the establishment of administrative institutions to deal with them, put an end to the confusion which had entered into the life of the villagers who constitute the overwhelming majority of the people. But unfortunately the early assessments were too heavy, and they caused a great deal of distress.

(b) Judicial Administration.—Under the rule of the Company the civil and criminal courts were separately organised. For civil justice each province had a *Sadr Diwani Adalat* which was the highest court of appeal. Under this court were *zilla* and city courts, *sadr amin's* courts and *munsif's* courts. Similarly for criminal justice there was a *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* which heard appeals from the lower courts, among which were the courts of the sessions judges and magistrates.

In 1833, the right of appeal from these courts to the judicial committee of the Privy Council in England was accorded. The system of old village Panchayats was also maintained as far as possible.

(c) Benevolent Measures: (1) Education.—Warren Hastings had established in 1781 the Calcutta Madrasa for the higher education of the Muslims. The Sanskrit College was established at Varanasi in 1791 by Duncan. Before the close of the eighteenth century the missionaries of Serampur (near Calcutta) had opened a number of schools. In 1800, the Fort William College was

founded by Wellesley for the Civil Service. In 1813 the East India Company sanctioned a grant of one lakh of rupees for educational purposes, and a number of schools and colleges were started in Calcutta. In 1823, Pandit Gangadhar Shastri opened the Agra College, and then the Elphinstone College came into existence at Bombay. Medical and Engineering colleges, and colleges for Oriental Studies were also established.

In 1835, the controversy between those who desired the government to help in the expansion of oriental learning only, and the others who wanted to teach Indians western subjects of study, came to an end. Bentinck and Macaulay made up their minds to create a class 'Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.' The spread of western culture became the fixed policy of the government.

In 1844, it was decided that English education was necessary for employment in government service.

In 1854, the Directors of the Company sent orders for the re-organisation of education. Accordingly, a Department of Public Instruction was established in each province, and primary schools, where instruction was imparted through Indian languages, and secondary schools where English and other subjects were taught, were opened.

(2) Prohibition of Sati.—In 1829 the practice of *Sati* was declared a crime. Although many attempts had previously been made by the rulers of India to stop the immolation of widows, the practice continued and at this period was spreading. Bentinck took the advice of the leading Hindu reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and made the burning or burying alive of widows and infant girls unlawful.

(3) Suppression of Thagi.—The *Thugs* were bands of plunderers and marauders who had become a menace to the peace of India. The roads were insecure as there was not an efficient system of police, and the disbandment of the armies of the Indian princes and the general state of unsettlement following upon the British conquest, had given opportunities to desperate men to form societies to carry on their evil purposes. Bentinck took strong measures to suppress the *Thugs* and, by 1837, most of them had been eliminated.

(4) Abolition of Slavery and Human Sacrifices.—In 1843 Ellenborough prohibited the legal recognition of slavery in India. Hardinge, his successor, suppressed female infanticide and the

human sacrifices which prevailed in certain parts of India among the primitive tribes.

(5) **Public Works.**—Auckland took preliminary steps to create great works of irrigation. Hardinge effected the opening of the Ganges Canal, and Dalhousie gave much attention to the irrigation canals.

Dalhousie constituted the Public Works Department for undertaking and supervising public works, e.g., canals, roads, and railways. The Grand Trunk Road was rebuilt and the system of railways was designed. The first railway line between Bombay and Thana was opened in 1853. The electric telegraph system was also founded, and the postal system was improved.

The effect of the measures of social reform was wholly good. The public works, especially the railways, telegraphs and posts, have had a tremendous influence upon the destinies of India. Their introduction made the unification of India possible.

(d) **The Economic Decline of India.**—The early history of the British rule in India has two aspects. The benevolent measures of the British Government have been described above, but the British conquest had an opposite aspect also. The rule of India fell into the hands of a trading corporation whose object was the making of profit. The officers of the Company were merchants who regarded their own interests as paramount, and who paid little heed to the interests of the millions whom they had brought under subjection.

The result of the selfish policy of the Company was that Indian trade and industry declined, the revenues of India were utilised in paying dividends to the shareholders of the Company. India was the home of many industries before the British conquest. Its cotton and silk fabrics were famous throughout the world. The crafts of weaving and spinning, of metal work in gold, silver, iron, copper, and brass, of paper manufacture, leather work, stone-cutting, pottery, carpet-making, dyeing, perfumery, etc., were extensively practised. These industries brought much profit to the Indian workmen. Indian agriculture, when not burdened with heavy assessments, was capable of supplying all the needs of the Indian population, and India produced indigo, tobacco, sugar, opium, salt, coffee and spices. Unfortunately the policy of the Company contributed to the decay of the Indian manufactures, and the decline of the spirit of industrial enterprise. While heavy and almost prohibitive duties were imposed on the importation

of Indian goods to England, India was compelled to receive British goods at merely nominal duties.

Another important factor working in the same direction was the incapacity of the Indian artisans and craftsmen to compete with the manufacturers of England. The Industrial Revolution had completely changed the methods of production in the West, with the result that Indian goods produced in the homes of the artisans with primitive tools could not compete with the goods produced on a large scale in factories by means of powerful machines worked by steam. The Indian internal trade also suffered on account of inland duties which the British inherited from their predecessors, but which they collected with greater strictness. The duties gave a large revenue to the Company, which was not willing to sacrifice it, although they had a bad effect on India's material welfare and the morals of the Indian traders and Company's officers. Some of the inland duties were abolished by Bentinck and Auckland.

The decline of Indian arts, handicrafts, and industry was a great blow to village life as many workers became landless labourers. But the effect of British land revenue policy was to increase the poverty and the misery of the cultivators. The exactions of the Government and the Zamindar forced them to take loans from the moneylenders which because of their low income they could not repay. They were obliged to sell their land and add to the numbers of landless labourers.

(iii) Wars, Conquests and Annexations

Lord Hastings' conquests had made the British supreme in India. On the north-west the boundary of the British dominion was extended to the Sutlej river, Bhawalpur State and the desert bordering on Rajputana. Beyond this frontier lay the states of the Punjab and Sindh, and further on Afghanistan. The problem before the British Government was to secure friendly relations with them and to bring them within the sphere of British influence. The British Government was much exercised by the rapid growth of the Russian power in Central Asia. It was afraid of Russia's encroachments towards India, and did not want the frontier states to fall under Russian influence.

On the east the Burmese kingdom, with its capital at Ava, exercised sway over the Trans-Gangetic peninsula. The Burmese had conquered Arakan, Manipur and Assam, and their boundaries marched with those of the British dominion. The inhabitants

of Arakan, known as Maghs, migrated in large numbers to Chittagong, and their activities caused friction between the British and the Burmese.

Within the British territories there were numerous Indian states which enjoyed a certain amount of independence in the control of their internal affairs, but were under the suzerainty of the supreme power. The administration of some of the rulers was inefficient, and as their position was secured by treaties with the British, they neglected the welfare of their subjects.

The First Burmese War.—The Burmese were the eastern neighbours of British India. They were the rulers of Pegu in northern Burma and their capital was Ava. Gradually they were extending their rule towards the south and the east. They seized Tenasserim, Arakan and Manipur and then in 1821–22 conquered Assam. The British were greatly alarmed and when the Burmese threatened to advance into the East India Company's territories, the Governor-General declared war. A naval expedition was sent which occupied Rangoon. Then the British troops advanced north, defeated Bandula, the Burmese general and took Prome, the capital of Lower Burma. In 1826, the treaty of Yandabo was concluded by which the British obtained the territories of Arakan, Tenasserim, Assam, Cachar, Jaintia and Manipur.

The Second Burmese War.—The relations between Burma and the East India Company remained strained. The Treaty was disregarded by the Burmese who treated the British resident and merchants discourteously. Small incidents led to war. Dalhousie, in 1852, sent troops to Rangoon which rapidly advanced and captured Martaban, Bassein and Prome. Dalhousie proclaimed the annexation of Lower Burma. But northern Burma was left under the Burmese King.

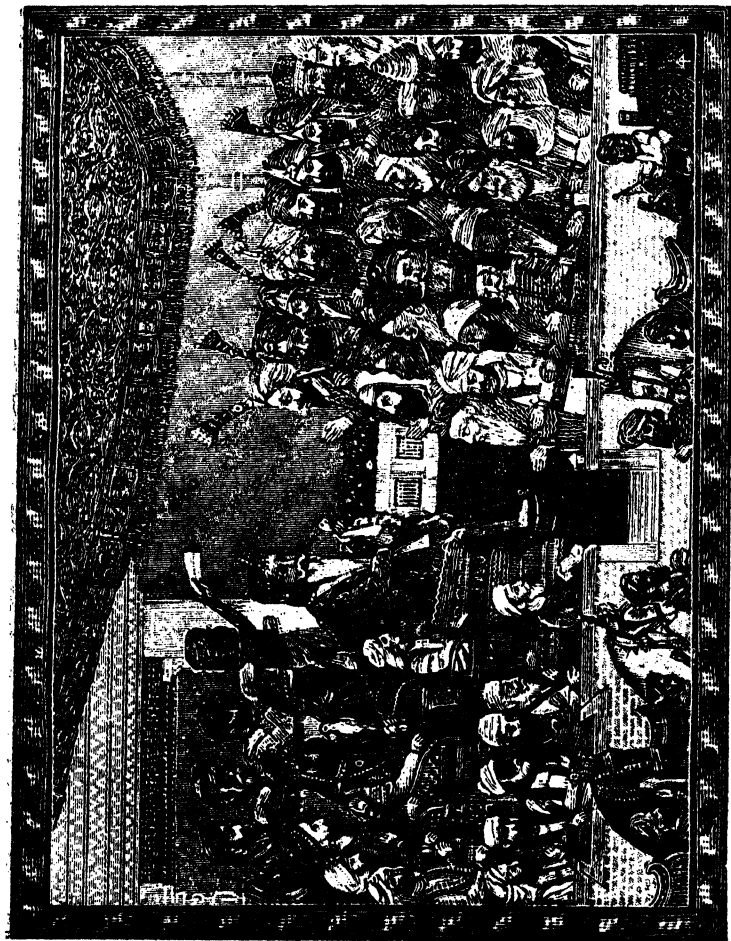
Afghanistan, Russia and Persia.—During the Napoleonic wars the Russians had started their advance in the East. In 1826, they defeated the Persians and acquired great influence in that country. The British, deprived of their influence in Persia, turned their attention to Afghanistan which they desired to use as a barrier against a Russian invasion. But Afghanistan was at this time in a state of turmoil. The Durrani dynasty founded by Ahmad Shah had been expelled from Kabul and Ghazni by Dost Muhammad, a chief of the Barakzai clan. Shah Shuja, the Durrani claimant to the throne, had taken refuge in India, although some Durrani chiefs continued to hold Herat and Kandahar.

In 1837, the Persians, aided by the Russians, advanced upon Herat and besieged it. Dost Muhammad asked help from the British, but they refused and he turned for assistance to the Russians. Then Lord Auckland made up his mind to interfere. He sent a naval force into the Persian Gulf, which frightened the Shah of Persia and obliged him to raise the siege of Herat. He then determined to depose Dost Muhammad and to place Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul. He entered into a treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja, by which the Maharaja agreed to co-operate with the British to restore Shah Shuja.

The First Afghan War.—The British forces were sent through Sindh. Kandahar and Ghazni were captured. Dost Muhammad fled from Kabul, and Shah Shuja entered the city with the British forces in 1839. The British, however, failed to establish the authority of Shah Shuja. In the winter of 1841, the Afghans rose in revolt and murdered Burnes and Macnaghten, two British officers. Dost Muhammad's son, Akbar Khan, assumed the leadership of the Afghans, and they forced the British to leave Kabul. The British retreat was disastrous, for only a single survivor out of the whole force reached Jalalabad.

Lord Ellenborough, who had now taken charge of the Government of India, sent Generals Pollock and Nott (1842) to retrieve the situation. The two forces advanced upon Kabul from two directions, and after rescuing the English prisoners and restoring British prestige, came back to India through the Khyber. Dost Muhammad returned to Kabul and re-occupied the throne. The first Afghan War was a wholly unnecessary attempt to deprive a ruler of his throne, and it brought upon the British forces severe reverses which greatly lowered the military reputation of the British in the East.

The Conquest of Sindh.—Sindh was under the rule of the Amirs of Talpur who were divided into the three branches of Hyderabad, Mirpur and Khairpur. The British had begun relations with them in 1809, and had entered into treaties, guaranteeing the integrity of their territories. When Auckland made the foolish resolve to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan, he sent the British forces to Afghanistan through Sindh in violation of the treaties. Lord Ellenborough wanted to restore the fame of the British power by some deed of conquest. He also regarded the annexation of Sindh as necessary for the purpose of British commerce, and the protection of the British Indian frontier. He deliberately provoked a war with the Amirs and sent Sir



Durbar of Ranjit Singh.

Charles Napier to execute his designs. Napier goaded the Baluchi Amirs into an insurrection which was used as an excuse for the conquest. The forces of the Amirs were crushed at Miani and Dabo and the province was annexed in 1843.

The Conquest of the Punjab.—Maharaja Ranjit Singh continued to rule over his dominions with great distinction until his death in 1839. He was a strong, far-sighted and just ruler. He had united the scattered *misl*s of the Sikh confederacy and he had saved the peasantry and people of the Punjab from the terrible menace of invasions of the Afghans from the north-west and of the Marathas from the south. He had raised a powerful and well-disciplined army, and established an orderly administration. Unfortunately, the rule of Ranjit Singh was the personal rule of a benevolent autocrat, and depended for its continuance on a masterful personality. His successors had none of his great qualities. The result was that on his death, the forces of disorder were let loose and the Sikh power broke up.

Kharak Singh, his son, was a feeble and unworthy successor, and died in a few months. During the brief period of Kharak Singh's rule, his son, Prince Nau Nihal Singh, a youth of eighteen, was the real power behind the throne. The Prince was able and energetic, but had become involved in court intrigues and had created for himself powerful enemies. When Kharak Singh died in November 1840, Nau Nihal 'became a king in name as well as in power; but the same day dazzled him with a crown and deprived him of life'. As he was returning after performing the last rites for his father, and was passing under a covered gateway, a portion of the structure fell upon him and he died during the same night. The only man who could have possibly saved the Punjab and introduced vigorous administration was thus removed from the scene. His mother declared herself Regent and ruler of the state, but her authority lasted only for a couple of months.

Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh, attacked Lahore in January 1841 and was proclaimed Maharaja by a section of the army. After this the state fell into confusion and party feuds arose. The army was rebellious and the Maharaja was unable to control it. The British watched these developments with great interest and thought seriously of invading the Punjab to restore order. They were determined that the Government in the Punjab 'must be Sikh and it must be strong, or we must be in the Punjab ourselves'. The Sikhs were suspicious of the designs of the British and were annoyed by the conduct of some British

officers. The interference of the British Government in their internal affairs made them still more distrustful, although during the campaigns of the British army in Afghanistan, the Sikhs had rendered valuable help to the British, for which Ellenborough had given them thanks.

In 1843 Sher Singh was murdered, and Dalip Singh, another son of Ranjit Singh, was proclaimed king under the care of his mother, Rani Jhinda Kaur. A struggle to obtain the regency and the office of Wazir arose between various Sikh chiefs. But the army, which was now controlled by its own *Panchayats*, became all powerful.

Causes of the First Sikh War.—The Sikhs believed that the British would, sooner or later, try to conquer the Punjab. The steady advance of the British from Bengal to the borders of the Sikh State, and the recent conquest of Sindh (1843), confirmed them in this belief. The British had established and strengthened their military posts on the Sutlej, especially during the Afghan war, and this was considered as contrary to the spirit of the treaty of 1809 with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It is probable that the Sikhs also knew that after establishing Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul, some British officers had proposed to take Peshawar from the Sikhs and bestow it on him, to strengthen his position. The proceedings of the British agent at Lahore in 1844–1845 were so provoking that the Sikhs were convinced that war with the British was inevitable. During all this time, the Sikh chiefs, torn by jealousies and personal strife, were unable to control the army. In fact the army was so powerful that it had been taking a predominant part in the political life of Lahore and in making and unmaking kings since 1841, when it had helped in putting Sher Singh on the throne. Some of the chiefs, therefore, were secretly desirous of a war with the British in order to weaken the army, and to establish their own position as ministers or administrators. They were short-sighted enough not to see that such a war might also result in the loss of the independence of their state. When the British troops occupied the Sikh villages near Ludhiana and thus laid hands on the dominion of the Khalsa, the army could not restrain itself. Encouraged by some treacherous leaders, who desired its destruction, the impulsive soldiery crossed the Sutlej and the First Sikh War commenced in the winter of 1845.

The First Sikh War.—The treachery of these Sikh leaders betrayed the army. The soldiers fought with the courage of

heroes and with the discipline of veterans, but their commanders were resolved upon their destruction and they deliberately led them on to death and disaster.

The first battle was fought at Mudki, twenty miles from Ferozepur. The British army had arrived here from Ambala and Ludhiana on 18th December and was attacked by a portion of the Sikh army. The Sikhs were led by Lal Singh, who left them after involving them in battle, so that the Sikhs fought as their 'undirected valour' prompted them. They were defeated, as expected and planned by Lal Singh, but the battle was not a decisive one. The main strength of the Sikh army was encamped at Firozshah about ten miles from Mudki. The English troops marched from Mudki and joined forces with their Ferozepur division at a place about four miles from where the Sikhs were encamped. The English attacked the Sikh positions at Firozshah and a fiercely contested battle ensued. Here Tej Singh, who was commanding the reserves, did not throw his men into the battle until Lal Singh's forces were put to flight. Even at the last moment, when a determined attack by Tej Singh's troops could have saved the situation, he hesitated and fled, leaving his troops without orders. The Sikhs lost the battle but not before inflicting heavy losses on the English. The Sikh army crossed to the right bank of the river to return again in January 1846 for further contests. Meanwhile the British had also made energetic preparations and called up reinforcements from all over India. On 28th January a battle was fought at Aliwal, and another at Sobraon on 10th February. Before this last battle, however, a secret understanding was reached with some leaders of the Sikhs that the English would attack the Sikh army, and that when beaten the army should be openly abandoned by its own government, which would allow the English to march to Lahore. The Sikhs lost all these battles, but the defeats they suffered covered the privates with glory and the officers and leaders with eternal disgrace.

After these victories the British advanced upon Lahore, and the Sikhs made a treaty by which they ceded the Jullundhar Doab and all the territories on the left bank of the Sutlej. They had also to pay a huge indemnity. They agreed to the reduction of the army and the appointment of a British Resident at the capital. Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, who had co-operated with the British, paid the greater part of the indemnity.

The Second Sikh War.—The situation created by the treaty

was unstable. The British had not annexed the country, but they had left little independence to the Sikhs. It was impossible for such a position to be permanent. A little incident led to an outbreak. General Mulraj, the Diwan of Multan, had not properly rendered the accounts of his province and he was recalled. He refused to give up the office; the Sikh army sided with him, and the British Resident sent his forces to besiege Multan. Some Sikh Sardars rose in revolt against the authorities. Lord Dalhousie declared war on the state of Lahore and sent General Gough to occupy the country. He fought a drawn battle with the Sikhs at Chillianwala, but decisively defeated them at Gujarat. The Punjab was annexed (1849) and Maharaja Dalip Singh was deposed. The administration of the province was placed in charge of a board of three commissioners who disarmed the Sikhs and established peace.

(iv) The Indian States

The policy of Lord Wellesley towards Indian rulers was one of subsidiary alliances. In accordance with this policy an Indian state was required to give up its independence, become subordinate to the British Government, and recognise it as the suzerain. The state was prohibited from entering into any alliance either with an Indian or a foreign power, but its authority within its own isolated territory was secured under the protection of the British Government. For this purpose the state had to pay a subsidy for the maintenance of a contingent of the British army trained and commanded by British officers.

The policy of non-intervention followed by the successors of Wellesley was necessitated by financial considerations; as soon, therefore, as the need for economy was removed, non-intervention was given up. When Lord Hastings became the Governor-General he reversed the policy of non-intervention and revived Wellesley's policy. By wars against the Marathas, the Pindharies and the Gurkhas, and by treaties with other Indian princes, he consolidated the British dominions, established the supremacy of the British in India, and made the Indian rulers subordinate allies.

The states which thus entered into the relation of subordinate alliance with the British were of varying sizes and were scattered all over India. A large number were grouped in Rajputana and Central India. Besides these, the important individual states were Satara, Nagpur, Hyderabad and Mysore in the Deccan, Travan-

core and Cochin in the extreme south, Baroda in the west and Oudh in the north.

Lord Amherst made no change in the policy of Lord Hastings. During his period of office he interfered in the affairs of Bharatpur where a dispute had arisen regarding succession to the throne. Raja Baldeo Singh was recognised by the British, but his cousin, Durjan Sal, opposed him and defied the suzerain power. The British Commander-in-Chief overcame the resistance and captured the fort in 1826. Durjan Sal was deported.

Lord William Bentinck came out to India with instructions not to interfere, and in the main he complied with these orders. In the case of Mysore, where the affairs of the state had been badly mismanaged, the administration was taken over in 1832. The state of Coorg, near Mysore, and of Jaintia and Cachar in Assam, were annexed. But to the rulers of the other states whose affairs were not being conducted properly, the Governor-General only sent letters of admonition. Bentinck contented himself with reforms in the British territories, and so long as peace was not disturbed he did not feel called upon to interfere in the internal affairs of the states.

Lord Auckland busied himself with Afghan affairs and paid little attention to the Indian states. During Ellenborough's term the state of Gwalior invited the attention of the government. Troubles had arisen in consequence of disputes regarding the regency. The army had assumed authority and its attitude caused alarm. In 1843, the Governor-General made up his mind to disband the army and crossed the Chambal with the British forces. The state troops were defeated at Maharajapur and Panniar, and were broken up. The territories of Gwalior were left practically intact, but the old treaties were revised. The state army was reduced, and a British contingent was established.

Lord Hastings was mostly occupied with the First Sikh War, and there is little to record about his dealings with the Indian States.

Lord Dalhousie, who came out in 1848, was a great believer in the superiority of western civilisation and the blessings of British rule, and he desired to sweep away the Indian states. He regarded them as inefficient, unprogressive and incapable of improvement. In order to put an end to their existence, he applied the Doctrine of Lapse wherever he could. According to this doctrine, the states which owed their existence to the British lapsed to the sovereign power in case of the failure of natural heirs. The

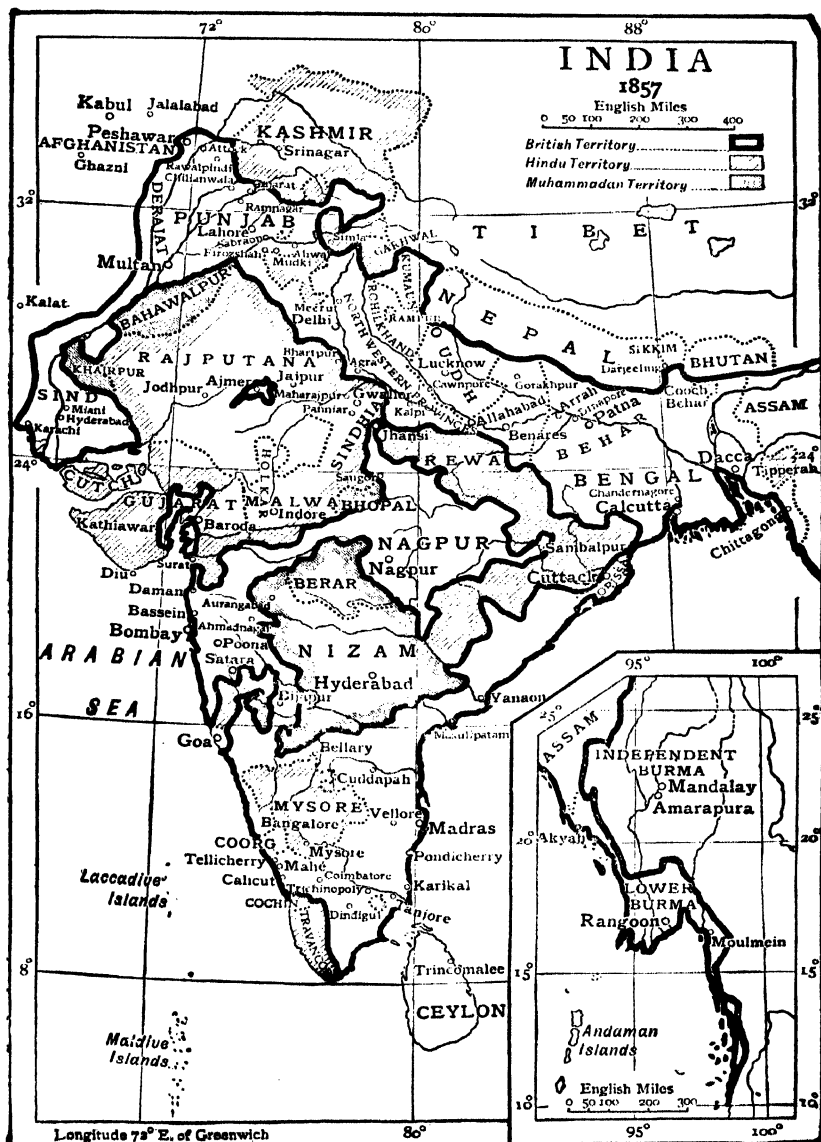
doctrine was opposed to the Hindu rule of adoption under which an adopted heir has the same rights as a natural heir. Lord Dalhousie refused permission to adopt heirs to the states which had come into existence during the British period, or had been spared by the British when there was an opportunity to annex them. He applied this doctrine to the principalities whose rulers died without natural heirs. They were Satara, Jaitpur (in Bundelkhand), Sambalpur (in Central Provinces), Baghat, Udaipur (in Central India), Jhansi and Nagpur. Their territories were incorporated in the British dominion.

Dalhousie also abolished the titles of the Nawab of Karnatak, of the Raja of Tanjore and of the Peshwa, and declared that on the death of Bahadur Shah the title of the Mughal Emperor would also lapse.

But the measure which caused the greatest resentment was the annexation of Oudh. Since the time of Shuja-ud-Daulah, who had signed the Treaty of Allahabad in 1765, Oudh had been an ally of the British. Successive Governors-General had reduced the independence of the Nawabs, and imposed heavy burdens upon the principality. The result was that financial disorders increased and the government became inefficient. The rulers, feeling secure under the guarantee of British protection, lost all incentive to good government and fell into evil habits. Lord Wellesley had deprived the Nawab in 1801 of a large part of his territories, disbanded his military establishment and rendered him absolutely powerless. Lord Hastings obtained two crores of rupees from Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haidar and allowed him to assume the title of Shah. But in spite of the continued loyalty of the Nawabs, and also the treaties, the British Government determined to annex the principality on the ground of misrule. Wazid Ali Shah was called upon to sign a treaty surrendering his kingdom. On his refusal the British Government assumed the administration, pensioned Wazid Ali and transferred him to Calcutta in 1856.

The Nizam of Hyderabad had much trouble with the British on account of financial transactions. The payment of the subsidy for the British contingent at Hyderabad had fallen in arrears, and Dalhousie forced the Nizam in 1853 to place the administration of Berar under British control so that its revenues might pay for the upkeep of the contingent.

Thus, between 1818 and 1858, the semi-independent Indian states were reduced to complete impotence. Some of the largest



states were incorporated with British India, and the others were made wholly subservient to the paramount power. Many of them were so impressed with the power and might of the Company's Government that they refrained from joining the Revolt of 1857.

(v) **The Revolt of 1857**

When Dalhousie left India in 1856, he did not suspect that a storm was brewing, and that there was cause for alarm concerning British power in India. Yet a year had scarcely elapsed after Lord Canning's assumption of his charge when the storm burst, and the country was plunged in disorder. In order to understand the causes of the rising which took place in 1857, it is necessary to remember that the character of the dominion established by the British in India differed from that of all the previous conquerors of India. The British conquest was a complete displacement of the old political order. It excluded Indians wholly from the exercise of influence upon the policy of the government, and placed the destiny of India entirely in the hands of the people of Great Britain. The Indians were excluded from all posts of power and responsibility, and were only employed in subordinate appointments. Thus they were left without any opportunities to achieve honour or glory in the service of their country, and without any means to realise their natural ambitions. Then, again, the people were practically disarmed and regarded as inferior to the conquerors. These disabilities hurt the pride of the Indian ruling classes whose political privileges were abolished, and they were further offended by the treatment meted out to the Mughal Emperor, the Shah of Oudh, the Peshwa, and the Rajas of Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi.

Other causes combined to produce general discontent. The immediate economic consequences of the conquest were the drain of wealth and the decay of Indian industry and commerce. Not only were men thrown out of employment in the military and administrative departments by the conquest, but many artisans, craftsmen, merchants and bankers were ruined, for new avenues of employment and business were slow to open. The impact of western civilisation, which the British brought with them, threatened to overthrow the culture which the people had long cherished. Education was passing out of the hands of the Pandits and Maulvis into the hands of the British educationists. An education of a type entirely different in principles was taking the place of the old one, and the old customs and institutions, whether good

or bad, were wholly disregarded. This created a two-fold difficulty. The social superiority of the classes which dominated Indian society was overthrown, and the British, who were an alien people, acquired this status. In the second place, the advance of the new culture appeared to hold out a menace to religion. The minds of the common people were naturally much agitated.

The political conditions created an atmosphere of general uneasiness. The Indian troops had special grievances of their own which were connected with the conditions of their service, e.g., low pay, slow promotion and limited prospects. The immediate cause of the outbreak was the issue of cartridges which were greased with the fat of cows and pigs. This excited the Hindu and the Muslim troops to fury, and they determined to rise and overthrow the British whom they regarded as the enemies of their faith. The situation seemed favourable, for the number of European troops in India was greatly reduced at this moment, and the prestige of the British army had been much lowered by the recent disasters in Afghanistan and the conduct of the Crimean War.

There were several active centres of rebellion—Delhi and its environs, the province of Agra and Oudh, Central India and Bihar. There was much restlessness in other parts of India, and disturbances took place in the Punjab, Hyderabad, in the Bombay Presidency and in Rajputana. There were sporadic uprisings in many other places. The rebellion was led by landlords, chiefs and princes, and the religious leaders of the Muslims and Hindus supported them.

But there was no concerted plan. Each leader fought his own battles and they were unable to offer united opposition. On the other hand, the British forces were under the command of well-trained officers. They were supported by a government which was in possession of large funds, munitions of war, and other resources. The rebellion was foredoomed to failure.

The first outbreak took place at Meerut on 10th May, 1857. From there the fire of rebellion spread on all sides.

The British military operations were directed against the cities of Delhi, Lucknow and Kanpur and the countries of Rohilkhand and Central India. Delhi was captured with the help of the Sikhs, and the Emperor Bahadur Shah was deposed and exiled to Rangoon. Lucknow offered a long and stout resistance, but ultimately fell into the hands of the British Commander-in-Chief who, with the help of the Gurkhas, subjugated Oudh. Kanpur, where Nana Sahib, son of Baji Rao II, was in command, was

easily occupied by the British forces but was lost and recovered again. In Rohilkhand, the son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan was proclaimed governor, but he retained his power for only a year, when Bareilly was occupied and Rohilkhand subdued. In Central India, Jhansi and Gwalior were the main centres of revolt. Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi and Tantia Tope defied the British for a long time, but at last the Rani was killed while fighting bravely at the head of her troops, and Tantia Tope was taken prisoner and executed. Babu Kunwar Singh, the brave leader of the Bihar rebels, who was eighty years of age, fought against the British with great courage and skill, but he was wounded in battle and died. By 1859, peace was established and then gradually order was restored.

With the end of the Indian revolt vanished the dream of the revival of the old political system of an imperial autocracy, based on the support of the military chiefs. It was impossible for India to look back. But the revolt brought about a change in the British system of administration also, for it swept away 'the unprogressive, selfish and commercial system of administration of the East India Company'. The Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown by the Act of 1858, and the Secretary of State for India took over the charge from the President of the Board of Control. On 1st November, 1858, the Queen's Proclamation, read in the great Durbar held at Allaha-bad, announced the change to the people of India.

2. India under the Crown, 1858-1919

The Modern Age of Indian history is remarkable for the great changes which have occurred in the life of the people. In the Pre-historic Age, India became inhabited by the races whose progress forms the material of our history. In the Age of Aryan Settlements, the culture, which dominated our country throughout its history, fixed its stamp upon our life and institutions. In the Ancient Age the Aryan and indigenous cultures were fused and this culture spread over the whole country, and thus the foundations of our destined unity were laid. The aspiration for national unity, however, did not find permanent embodiment in society and state, for the divisions of provinces, tribes and castes could not be merged into the idea of a nation. The propagation of the Buddhist and Jaina faiths, and the establishment of empires like those of Asoka, Chandragupta II and Harsha, however, pointed to this goal.

During the Middle Age a further step towards unification was taken. The empires of the Delhi Sultans and the Mughal rulers created a lasting sense of political unity, supported by the growth of a civilisation which became common to the peoples of India. The artists, poets, and saints of India were the expression of this unity. Society felt the impulse of the change. Racial divisions received a definite set-back and began to merge into social divisions—classes, castes and communities. Our economic life also showed an advance, for although the unity of the country for all trades and industries was not realised, India became a single market for precious and light articles.

In the Modern Age, the conquest of India by the British and the establishment of the British administration provided those conditions in which the realisation of political unity became possible. The history of the period from 1858 to 1919 is concerned with the rapid growth of the consciousness of national unity. The divisions based on caste began to lose their rigour, and the old distinctions of race and tribe to disappear. It is true that the communal differences were accentuated, but at the same time the ties of neighbourliness grew stronger, and the sentiment that all those who live in India belong to one society made its appearance. The feeling was first awakened among the educated classes and in the cities, but it rapidly spread into wider circles. With its diffusion it had grown deeper, stronger and richer, and its triumph as the most potent motive of conduct after religion seemed assured. The sentiment of nationalism gave a new impulse to the development of society. In the place of divided and scattered centres of life, India began to possess more and more an organic oneness. The spirit of progress moved society to reform its religious, economic and political life, and it found expression in literature, science and art.

The growth of nationalism affected the nature and the activity of the government. At the beginning of the period, the British Government was solely responsible to the British people from whom it drew its power. As time passed, the government realised that the opinion of the ruled ought to be recognised and should influence its decisions, and as the national consciousness became more widely diffused, the natural desire that the government should be responsible to the people arose and the movement for the establishment of Swaraj became stronger.

Thus, the history of the period has three aspects. In one aspect, it is the history of the British Government, that is, the history of

the development of the administrative system, of the activities of the administration in the different fields, and of the relations of the government with the powers on the frontiers of India. In the second aspect, it is the history of the social changes which occurred as a result either of the action of the government or of the people themselves. In the third aspect, it is the history of the political advance which took place along with the growth of nationalism.

(i) The Constitutional and Administrative Developments

The Act of 1858 vested the final responsibility for the administration of India in the Secretary of State, who was a member of the British Cabinet and was answerable for his measures and policies to the British Parliament. It also established the Council of India to assist and advise him. The Council consisted of a number of members appointed by the Crown and possessing Indian experience. The assent of the Council was necessary in financial matters, but otherwise its decisions were not binding on the Secretary of State.

Later Acts reduced the control of the Council and concentrated power in the hands of the Secretary of State. In 1907 Lord Morley, then Secretary of State, added two Indian members to the Council.

The Act of 1858 made no change in the system of government in India. Under the general superintendence and direction of the Secretary of State for India, the Governor-General and Viceroy of India was responsible for the Government of India, and he controlled the civil and military administration. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the laying of the telegraph cable through the Red Sea in 1870, the control of the Secretary of State over the Government of India tended to grow greater.

The Governor-General was assisted by an Executive Council which, in 1858, consisted of four ordinary members, with the Commander-in-Chief as an extraordinary member. In 1861, the number of ordinary members was raised to five and, in 1874, to six. Each member was placed in charge of a department and was empowered to settle all petty matters. More important matters were discussed in the Council which ordinarily met once in every week under the presidency of the Governor-General, who had the power to overrule the decisions of the Council in certain

cases. Gradually the powers became concentrated in the Viceroy, who consulted the governors of the provinces on all important affairs. In 1909, Mr. Sinha (afterwards Lord Sinha), an Indian, was first appointed to the Executive Council.

Below the Government of India were the Provincial Governments. From 1858 to 1918, there were two kinds of provinces: (1) Regulation, and (2) Non-regulation, which differed in their systems of law and organisation. Some Provincial Governments had at their head Governors and others Lieutenant-Governors; the first type possessed greater freedom and power than the second. These distinctions were abolished in 1918. The Provincial Governments were required to obey the orders of the Governor-General in Council and keep him informed of their proceedings. Thus authority was centralised in the Government of India.

The Governor-General administered some areas directly through Chief Commissioners. The areas so administered were the principal non-regulation areas.

Constitutional Changes.—The supreme authority for law-making for India was the British Parliament. In 1853, the British Government delegated subordinate powers to the Governor-General's Council to make laws, and added six members to the Council for legislative purposes. In 1861, the Imperial Legislative Council was reorganised. It consisted of the Executive Council of the Viceroy together with not less than six or more than twelve additional members. In this Council non-officials were first introduced as members nominated by the Governor-General, and among them were three Indians—the Maharaja of Patiala, the Raja of Varanasi and Sir Dinkar Rao (then chief minister of the Holkar State). Afterwards Indians were chosen not only from among the Indian States, but also from British India and from among retired officials, lawyers, etc. Under the Act of 1861, provincial legislative Councils were established in Bengal, Bombay and Madras (1862) and in the N.W.P. (1886).

In 1892, an Act was passed by Parliament which raised the number of additional members of the Imperial Legislative Council from the minimum of six to ten and the maximum from twelve to sixteen. It enabled the Council to discuss the estimates of revenue and expenditure of the Government, and ask questions regarding the affairs of administration. It also provided for the election of members to the Indian Legislative Council through the Provincial Legislative Councils.

The number of members of Provincial Councils was also increased, and provision was made for the election of some of them through municipal and district boards and universities. Provincial Councils were established in the United Provinces in 1886, and later in the Punjab and other provinces.

In 1909, the Councils were again reformed. The additional members of the Imperial Legislative Council were increased to sixty, of which twenty-seven were to be elected, some through special electorates, e.g., the Muslims and Zamindars, and others by the non-official members of the provincial councils.

In the Provincial Councils similar changes were made, and in them the principle that the majority of members should be non-official was conceded. Their scope and functions were also enlarged.

The result of the changes was not the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India, but they did constitute a step forward on the road to responsible government.

In 1919, when Mr. Montagu was the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford the Viceroy, more important political changes were introduced and the legislatures were reformed. For the first time the British Parliament accepted the principle that power should be transferred to the people. But the Act of 1919 applied the principle to the Provincial Governments only. Their functions were divided into two parts, called transferred and reserved subjects, respectively.

The Act made the Provincial Governments independent of the control of the Government of India in legislative and administrative matters affecting the transferred subjects, for in these responsibility was transferred to the Provincial Legislative Councils.

The Executive Government of the province was divided into two parts one part comprising the Governor as the head of the province and the members of his Executive Council in charge of the reserved subjects, and the second part comprising the Governor with the ministers who held charge of the transferred subjects. The Governor and the Executive Councillors were appointed by the Crown for five years. The Governor appointed the ministers from the elected members of the Council but they held office only so long as they retained the confidence of the Council.

The Provincial Legislative Councils were composed of members of the Governor's Executive Council and the nominated and

elected members; not more than twenty per cent of the members were officials and at least seventy per cent were elected.

The total number of members differed in the different provinces, Bengal having the largest and the Central Provinces the smallest number. Special representation was given to the communities and to the special classes. The powers and privileges of the legislatures were extended in financial, legislative and administrative matters. The reserved subjects remained under the authority of the British Parliament, but the transferred subjects were made amenable to the authority of the people, who controlled them through their representatives in the Council. Among the transferred subjects were education, industry, local self-government, sanitation and health, excise and agriculture.

The Imperial Legislative Council was replaced by a Legislature consisting of two houses, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The Council of State had 60 members, of whom 33 were elected and 27 nominated—mostly officials. The Legislative Assembly consisted of 145 members, of whom 104 were elected and the rest nominated. The Indian Legislature so constituted was a law-making body subordinate to the British Parliament.

Law and Justice.—The judicial system was reorganised during this period. Before 1858, the laws which were administered were of a varied type—the English laws, the Hindu and the Muslim laws, the ancient customs and regulations. Afterwards laws were made uniform and codified. The Indian Penal Code was adopted in 1861. The codes were revised from time to time as need for change arose. The different systems of Courts were replaced by a new system in 1861. High Courts were established at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and later at Allahabad and in other provinces, and the old *Sadr Adalats* and the Supreme Courts were abolished. The High Courts were courts of appeal for both civil and criminal cases. In certain matters appeals might be made from their decision to the Privy Council in England.

The Public Services.—The Secretary of State was empowered in 1858 to regulate appointments to the public services. The principle that appointments to the Indian Civil Service should be made by means of a competitive examination in London was recognised in 1833 and was reaffirmed in 1858. In 1863, the first Indian succeeded in the examination, but the number of Indians entering the service in this way remained small. Later, rules were made by which Indians could be appointed as

statutory civil servants without an examination. The statutory civil service was abolished in 1888.

The public services were divided into three branches—superior, provincial and subordinate. In the superior branch, the Indian Civil Service was the most important, for the general work of administration, including justice, was entrusted to it. It shaped the policy of the government, for all the important offices involving superior control were held by its members.

The Indian Civil Service was mainly composed of Englishmen. The Provincial Service was recruited in India, and consisted of Indians. Their salaries were lower than those of the first Service and their rank lower. The third Service was known as the Subordinate Service. They were in pay and rank lower than the Provincial Service.

The Army.—On the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown in 1858, the reorganisation of the Indian Army was carried out. The Company's European troops were transferred to the service of the Crown, and thus all troops became the servants of the Crown. The number of Indian troops was greatly reduced, so that the proportion of British to Indian troops came to one-half. The artillery was taken away from the Indians and made over to the charge of the British. The armies were organised separately for the three presidencies till 1895, when they were placed under a single control. In 1907 the army was reorganised on such a basis as would suit the conditions of war. After 1893 the recruitment of Indians for the army was restricted more and more to what were called the martial races, so that the Punjabis, Sikhs and Gurkhas came to constitute the largest part.

The Commander-in-Chief was the sole authority for the administration of the army under the Government of India. The higher officers held their commission from the King, whether they commanded British or Indian troops. In 1917 Indian officers were made eligible for the King's Commission for the first time. The other Indian officers of the Indian troops held the Viceroy's Commission, which ranked lower than the King's Commission.

(ii) The Domestic Policy of the Government of India

Having traced the development of the administrative system, it is necessary to relate the activities of the government in the domestic affairs of India.

In the Middle Ages, whether in the West or in the East, the main duty of the government was the maintenance of peace and order within, and the defence of the country from invaders from without. In modern times, governments are expected to undertake many additional activities. Besides maintaining military forces for defence and public services for administration, they are required to promote the material and moral welfare of the people. They are required to devise policies for increasing the wealth of the country by encouraging agriculture, industry and commerce, and developing easy and cheap means of transport and communication. They are required to advance material well-being by protecting the people from famine, pestilence and disease, and from the sale of dangerous drugs, from the improper distribution of the necessities of life, like water, salt, etc. They are required to take measures for the removal of ignorance, and for the spread of education, for the training of the people in the ways of self-help and self-government, and for the development of those qualities of mind and character which are necessary for securing the happiness of man and of society.

Financial Administration.—Finance is the basis of governmental activities and of national well-being. The life of the people is deeply affected by the objects on which governments spend money and by the methods of their expenditure; it is equally affected by the means which they employ to collect revenues, and by the amount of taxes which they collect.

On the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown in 1858, the system of financial administration was modified. In the first place, the expenditure of Indian revenues was brought under the control of the Secretary of State and his Council, and the Government of India was left with limited powers of incurring expenses. In India, the old system was replaced by an organisation which followed the British model. A separate Finance Minister was appointed in 1859 to control all receipts and disbursements, and finances were centralised by making the Provincial Governments merely agents of the Central Government. The system of preparing budgets was introduced. James Wilson, who was the first Finance Member of the Government of India, introduced a proper classification of the items of the budget, laid down the principles of taxation, and introduced the income-tax as a source of revenue of the state. In 1881, Sir Evelyn Baring, the Finance Member of Lord Ripon, made important changes in the keeping of the accounts. A Controller and

Auditor-General was placed at the head of the accounts department to check and scrutinise the accounts.

Financial Decentralisation.—In 1858, the centralised system of finance was established. The Imperial Government controlled the smallest details of every branch of the expenditure. But the system was unsuited to the needs of a country so large as India and with such diversities of social and economic conditions. The Imperial Government found itself incapable of dealing with the growing complexities of the administration, and found its agents, the Provincial Governments, becoming lax, extravagant and improvident. In 1870, Lord Mayo, therefore, drew up a scheme of financial decentralisation by which certain heads of expenditure could be entrusted to the provincial governments, for which grants were made from the revenues of India. The scheme worked well and it was extended, with modifications, by Lord Lytton in 1877. He assigned to the Provincial Governments a share of certain heads of revenue to meet the expenses of the province, and made the arrangement revisable every five years. Sir Evelyn Baring made further changes in 1882. Certain heads of income were made wholly provincial, and certain others were divided between the Imperial and Provincial Governments in varying proportions so that the provinces could meet their ordinary expenses and introduce necessary improvements. Thus the Provincial Governments obtained a certain measure of independence from the imperial control.

In 1904, the problem of provincial finance received the attention of Lord Curzon. He laid down the principles for a new settlement by which the Provincial Governments were given a more permanent interest in their revenue and expenditure. The heads of revenue were divided in stated proportions between the two. As regards the expenditure, the imperial revenues paid the expenses connected with the items of imperial concern, and provincial revenues were made responsible for expenditure incurred within the province for the general administration. Thus, the needs of the province and of the development of the nation-building departments were recognised in determining the assignments of revenue. The settlement was made quasi-permanent instead of being five-yearly.

In 1912, the defects of the system of 1904 were further removed by converting fixed assignments into shares of revenue, and the settlement was made permanent. The Provincial Governments were not allowed to raise new taxes and loans, but the Imperial

Government expressed its willingness to make grants to meet projects of great local utility. The control of the Imperial Government was reduced.

The Government of India Act of 1919 granted financial independence to the provinces, and entirely separated the resources of the central government from those of the provinces. The system of divided heads of revenue was abolished, and with it disappeared the scrutiny of the Imperial Government into the needs of the provinces. The provinces acquired, within limits, the right of taxation as well as the power of borrowing.

Growth of Revenue and Expenditure.—The main heads of expenditure of the Government of India were—(1) military charges, including the army and the navy; (2) public services, including general administration and justice; (3) public works, including railways, posts, telegraphs, and irrigation; and (4) material and moral welfare-work, including famine relief, sanitation, medical charges, and education.

In order to meet their expenses the Government had the following main sources of revenue—(1) Land revenue and income tax; (2) Indirect taxes, including excise on commodities for consumption, like liquor; (3) Customs or taxes on articles imported into India, e.g., cloth, articles of food and drink like sugar and liquor, manufactured goods, machinery, oils, etc., and on articles exported from India, e.g., jute, rice, tea, hides, etc.; (4) Government monopolies, like opium, salt, and forest produce; and (5) Productive public works, like railways and irrigation works.

The history of the finances falls into three periods. From 1858 to 1876, the expenditure of the Government remained about Rs. 50 crores a year. During this period no wars of expansion were undertaken, and expenditure on other items remained stationary. From 1876 to 1900, the times were difficult, the country passed through a number of bad seasons and scarcity and famine prevailed in large areas. On the frontier the pressure of Russia forced the Government to embark on expensive defensive operations, and in Afghanistan and Burma costly wars had to be waged as a result of the forward policy of the British statesmen. The revenues of the Government of India were affected by the policy of free trade which they were obliged to adopt in deference to the interests of the British manufacturers. Moreover, the finances were threatened with confusion by the fall in the price of silver, which formed the basis of the Indian currency. The sudden increase in the supply of

silver caused a lowering of the value of the Indian rupee, and the Government was led to adopt the gold standard, and to close the mints for the free coinage of silver.

During the next period, from 1900 to 1919, the expenditure went up to nearly 200 crores. In the earlier years of the period, the military expenditure increased on account of the frontier policy of Lord Curzon, and from 1914 because of the First World War. Increases occurred in all the other heads of expenditure, because Government activities multiplied in every direction, and also because the interest on public debts was considerably enhanced and became one of the heaviest charges on the Indian revenues.

So far as the revenues were concerned the largest increases took place in income-tax, excise, customs, railways and irrigation. The income from salt remained stationary, and that from opium went down.

Means of Material Welfare.—During the nineteenth century public opinion in England was averse to the direct promotion of industries by Government. Little was done, therefore, by the Government of India to assist directly the industrialisation of India. Moreover, the Government was obliged to adopt the free trade policy which made it impossible to give even indirect help to growing industries. Some efforts were made by the Provincial Governments, notably in the United Provinces and Madras, to create departments of industry, but Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, was opposed to the undertaking of industrial work on commercial lines by the state, and the only aid the Government was allowed to render was by way of experiment, instruction and collection of information.

The Government, however, organised the forest, salt and opium departments to control the production and sale of forest produce, salt and opium. It also took upon itself the responsibility for relieving human suffering due to famine, pestilence, and disease. Famines were quite frequent during the latter half of the nineteenth century and some of them were of great severity. After the great Deccan famine of 1876–78, the Government appointed a commission in 1883, which made recommendations regarding famine relief, among which the most important had the object of protecting children and women, and of reserving a crore and a half of rupees to be set apart from the Government revenues to meet such needs. This fund greatly reduced the chances of misery and hardship.

From 1881 onwards a number of factory laws were passed with the object of protecting children and women, and of securing better conditions for workmen. Measures for the improvement of sanitary conditions began in 1864. But it was only when plague broke out in a virulent form in 1896 that the attention of the Government was forcibly drawn to this problem, and the sanitary department was organised. But the grants for sanitation were quite inadequate, and the conditions of living of the poor, both in towns and villages, were so unsatisfactory that India had the highest death-rate and the lowest average expectation of life among all the civilised countries of the world.

In spite of the high death-rate, however, the population had greatly increased. According to the estimates of a number of writers, the population of India during the Middle Age was between ten and fourteen crores. In 1872, when the first census was taken, it had risen to over 20 crores, and, in 1921, to nearly 32 crores. The increase of population exercised much influence on economic conditions.

Considerations of moral good influenced the policy of the Government in the matter of restricting the cultivation of opium in India. In 1908 the Government guaranteed a decrease in the export of opium to China and made up its mind to sacrifice its revenue from this source. Its policy was to increase the revenue from excise without encouraging the illegal manufacture and sale of liquor.

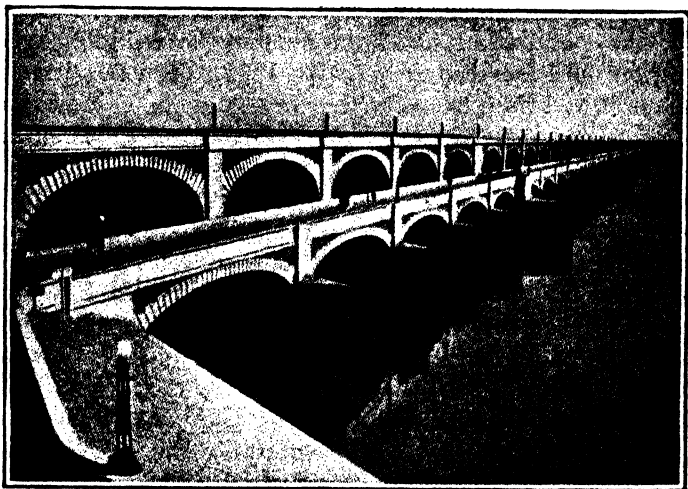
During the nineteenth century, the Government undertook the development of the means of communication and transport in India. It opened up the country by means of roads, railways, posts and telegraphs, and connected India with the world by means of steamships and cables. The effect of these undertakings upon the economic conditions was revolutionary, for they gradually transformed the mediaeval conditions and created the basis of the modern economic life of India.

In the pre-British period there were no railways in India and the roads were bad. The villages, which were the units of population, were isolated and self-contained, and contact between one part of the country and another was slight. Until the middle of the nineteenth century there was little change in these conditions. Lord William Bentinck and Lord Dalhousie carried out schemes which vastly extended and improved communications, and by the end of the nineteenth century a great advance had been effected. By 1919, more than 50,000 miles of metalled

roads, about 150,000 miles of unmetalled roads and nearly 35,000 miles of railways had been built.

The facilities of posts and telegraphs expanded along with them. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the organisation of steam navigation and the laying down of cables under the sea brought India into close contact with the outside world.

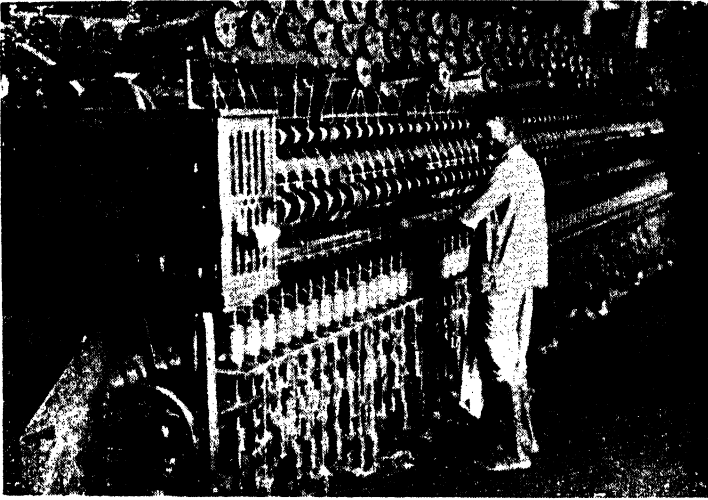
Development of irrigation which extended the area under cultivation, provision of a uniform currency and system of tariffs, removal of barriers to free internal trade and changes in the agricultural and industrial conditions also stimulated the economic transition.



Sukkur Barrage.

The consequences of the transition were that the old isolation of the peoples broke down, and the economic structure of society was modified. Agriculture in India was no longer carried on to meet only local needs. New crops, like jute and tea were introduced. Different regions began to specialise in the production of different crops suited to their natural conditions. The self-sufficiency of the village began to disappear, the dependence of one region on another increased, and the country instead of being divided into numerous separate markets, constituted one market. The population was no longer confined to its customary places or residence and to its customary occupations. There was greater inclination to move from one place to another, and from

one occupation to another. Thus the rigidities of custom and status were giving way to competition, and life was becoming elastic and progressive. Under the stress of these forces the whole country was becoming one economic unit.



A Jute Mill.

Measures affecting Social and Moral Welfare.—The terrible events of 1857 frightened the Government from undertaking measures of social reform. In India social customs, whether good or evil, are largely based on religion, and the Government came to the conclusion that the Revolt of the Indians had been due to its interference in social affairs. For a long time, therefore, the Government took no active interest in social progress, and paid no heed to the requests of those who urged reform through legislation. By the time of Lord Lansdowne (1888–93), however, the apprehensions of the Government had become less acute, and, in 1892, an Act was passed which gave protection to girls under the age of twelve and checked the evils of infant marriage.

Education.—In 1854, Departments of Public Instruction were established in the presidencies, and then, in 1857, three universities were founded at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. The University of London was taken as the model, and they were therefore entrusted with the holding of examinations only, not with teaching.

In 1882–83, the Government appointed a commission to report

on university education, and subsequently two more examining universities were established, one at Lahore in 1885 and the other at Allahabad in 1887. The Education Commission of Lord Curzon (1902-04) modified the organisation of the universities without changing their essential character. The Calcutta University Commission of 1916 recommended the establishment of teaching and residential universities in India. The Banaras Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University followed these principles, although they were the first universities in India which owed their existence to public munificence. Secondary education also made much progress, but primary education remained very backward throughout the period.

The Press.—Newspapers made their appearance in India with the establishment of British rule. In the early days of the Company's rule, the first of these were English papers owned by Englishmen. Later, newspapers were started by Indians in English as well as in Indian languages. The Company maintained strict control over these papers, but in 1835 Lord Metcalfe granted complete freedom of expression. But 'a free press and the dominion of strangers are things which are quite incompatible and cannot long exist together'—(*Munro*), and Lord Lytton passed the Vernacular Press Act in 1878 limiting the liberty of the newspapers in the Indian languages. Lord Ripon repealed the Act, but restrictions were reimposed in 1910.

Local Self-Government.—It is the natural desire of a people that they should govern themselves. The most enlightened among British officers had always recognised that a day must come when the Government of India must be placed in the hands of Indians. Efforts to associate Indians in administration and government were made from time to time. The Proclamation of the Queen in 1858 had promised that Indians would be regarded as eligible for all posts, and Indians were nominated to the Legislative Councils from 1861.

Municipalities had existed in the Presidency towns from the earliest days of the East India Company. Between 1842 and 1862, laws were passed permitting their establishment in the large centres of population. Lord Mayo extended the sphere of their work. Their functions were enlarged and the system of election was introduced. Lord Ripon, in 1883-84, extended the elective system, gave a measure of financial control, and permitted the election of non-officials as chairmen. He also established the Local District Boards. In 1915, further progress was made.

The elected element was expanded, the employment of non-official chairmen was increased, and greater control was conceded over finance.

(iii) **Relations of the Government of India with the Neighbouring States**

The relations of the Government of India with the neighbouring states depended upon the relations of Great Britain with the European states, for the Government of India was a subordinate branch of the British Government and was bound to carry out the policy laid down by the British Parliament. In order to understand the foreign policy of the Government of India during this period, it is necessary to consider briefly the foreign policy of Great Britain.

Great Britain had two serious rivals on the European continent in the middle of the nineteenth century—Russia and France.

The Russians had two ambitions—they desired to annex Constantinople and to extend their empire in the East. In both of these matters their interests were opposed to those of the British, and throughout the nineteenth century the two powers remained hostile. The French were defeated by the Germans in 1871 and lost two of their provinces. They were keen on building up a colonial empire, and they had established their dominion in several regions in Africa and in Indo-China. They came into conflict in all these parts with the British who possessed territories in their neighbourhood. Thus these two nations were also on unfriendly terms during the nineteenth century.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, Germany rose to be one of the dominant powers in Europe, and the expansion of its industry, commerce and colonial empire roused the jealousy of the British. Great Britain composed its quarrels with France and Russia in order to combat the rivalry of Germany.

The foreign policy of the British statesmen was designed to counteract at first the aims of Russia and France, and later of Germany, and the Indian Government had to follow their decisions so far as India was concerned. Three periods may be distinguished in the history of the relations of the Indian Government and its neighbours: (1) the period of masterly inactivity from 1856 to 1876; (2) the period of forward policy from 1876 to 1904; and (3) the period of compromise from 1904 to 1919.

The First Period, 1856–1876.—During the period from 1856 to 1876, Great Britain's foreign policy was one of keeping

aloof from European entanglements, and the Government of India followed the policy of not interfering in the affairs of its neighbours so long as they did not menace the peace of India. It was only from the north-western direction that there could be any threat to India, for beyond the Indian frontier lay the country of Afghanistan, and beyond Afghanistan the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes rivers, which were fast falling under the influence of Russia. The British statesmen did not regard the expansion of Russia in Central Asia as a serious menace till 1873, and the Indian Government consequently regarded interference in Afghan affairs as unnecessary.

Lord Elgin (1862–63), who succeeded Canning as Viceroy of India, had a short tenure of office, and it fell to the lot of **Lord Lawrence** (1864–69) to formulate the policy of inactivity, which was pursued by his successors **Lord Mayo** (1869–72) and **Lord Northbrook** (1872–76). Lawrence disliked the idea of alliance with the ruler of Afghanistan and, therefore, refused to take any part in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. When Dost Muhammad, the Afghan Amir, died in 1863 and Sher Ali, his son, ascended the throne after a bloody struggle with his brothers, he was recognised as Amir. In 1869, Lord Mayo met Sher Ali at a Durbar in Ambala. He assured the Amir of his friendship, but refused to make any definite commitments. Lord Northbrook adhered to the same policy, and refused the requests of Sher Ali to recognise his son whom he had selected as his heir-apparent.

The Second Period, 1876–1904. The Second Afghan War.—

In 1874, British statesmen began to feel that the policy of neutrality which had been followed was lowering British prestige and proving injurious to their interests. The Russians had made a great advance in Central Asia; they had entered into correspondence with the Amir of Afghanistan; and they were carrying on intrigues against the Sultan of Turkey, who was an ally of Great Britain. The British determined, therefore, to counteract the Russian influence in Afghanistan.

Lord Lytton, who was Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, was sent here to bring Sher Ali under British control. Negotiations were opened with him by the Viceroy for the stationing of a British envoy at Kabul, but they proved fruitless. The British thereupon occupied Quetta (in 1877) which commands the Bolan Pass, supports the defence of the Khyber, and controls the road between Kandahar and Bolan. The occupation was regarded as an

unfriendly act by Sher Ali. In 1876, Russia declared war upon Turkey, and the British prepared to intervene to prevent the Russians from obtaining ascendancy over Turkey. The Russians sought an alliance with the Amir and sent an envoy to Kabul who negotiated with him a treaty of friendship.

Meanwhile, the Russo-Turkish War had come to an end, and the Russians had signed the Treaty of Berlin, and the British statesmen did not desire any demonstration against Russia in Asia. But Lord Lytton had made up his mind to establish British influence in Afghanistan, so he sent a mission under Chamberlain to Kabul through the Khyber. The Amir refused to receive it, expecting that the Russians would help him against the British. The refusal led to the declaration of war. The British troops forced across the Afghan passes and occupied Kandahar in 1878. Sher Ali fled to Turkestan where he died, and his son, Yakub Khan was forced to sign the Treaty of Gandamak, which placed Afghan foreign affairs under British control. Then a British envoy was murdered, and the British forces had to march again under Roberts to Kandahar. The policy of Lytton had failed and he was replaced by **Lord Ripon**. The new Viceroy (1880-84) came to terms with Abdur Rahman, the nephew of Sher Ali. He secured control of the foreign relations of Afghanistan and retained Pishin (Baluchistan), but abandoned the demand for the maintenance of an envoy at Kabul.

The Panjdeh Incident.—**Lord Dufferin** (1884-88) realised the need of defining the Russo-Afghan boundaries, for the Russian occupation of Merv (Central Asia) in 1884 threatened the integrity of Afghanistan. A boundary commission was set up, but, before it could meet, the Russians occupied Panjdeh, which was an Afghan outpost. This might have led to war in which the British would have joined as allies of the Afghans under the terms of the understanding reached with the Amir. But the Amir agreed to an exchange of territory and war was averted. Then the boundary commission met and laid down the northern boundary of Afghanistan. Amir Abdur Rahman remained loyal to the alliance with the British till his death in 1901. His son, Habib Ullah, renewed the treaty in 1905.

The Third Burmese War and the Annexation of Upper Burma.—Since 1858 the French had established their dominion in Indo-China and had extended their influence towards Upper Burma. The proximity of the French roused the apprehension of the British. The King of Upper Burma was on friendly terms

with the British, but some trifling incidents led to quarrels between him and the Indian Government. The Burmese then sought an alliance with the French in 1883, and as the relations of Great Britain and France were strained over colonial matters, the British were not prepared to allow a treaty between Burma and France which would establish French influence in Upper Burma. Dufferin sent an army, which occupied Mandalay. King Thebaw was deported, and Upper Burma was annexed to British India in 1886.

The Frontier Operations.—During the Viceroyalties of **Lord Lansdowne** (1888–94) and **Lord Elgin** (1894–99) there were no wars. With **Lord Curzon** (1899–1905) active operations again began on the frontiers.

The fear of Russia led the British to interfere in Tibet as in Afghanistan. Tibet was under the suzerainty of China, and was ruled by the Dalai Lama, who was the head of a religious order. About 1898, the Dalai Lama fell under the influence of a Russian Buddhist, Dorjief. He sent missions to Russia, which aroused British suspicions. The Government of India tried to reach an understanding with the Tibetan Government, but without success. Lord Curzon sent a mission with a military escort in 1904, which forced its way to Lhasa and made a treaty under which marts for exchange of goods were to be opened and an indemnity to be paid.

The Third Period, 1904–1919.—The relations of Britain with Russia and France changed with the close of the nineteenth century. The growing menace of Germany led the British statesmen to enter into treaties of alliance and friendship with these two powers. In 1904, an agreement was made between Britain and France, which put an end to their conflicts in all parts of the world, including the Far East. During the administration of **Lord Minto** (1905–10), an Anglo-Russian convention defined in 1907 the respective spheres of influence of Britain and Russia in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. **Lord Hardinge** (1910–16) was the Viceroy of India when the first world war (1914–18) broke out. The result of the agreement with Russia was that during the war the frontiers of India remained safe from attack. Although the German agents strove to provoke Amir Habib Ullah to war, they did not succeed. In 1919, Habib Ullah was murdered in Jalalabad. His son, Amanullah, became Amir and with him began a new phase in the history of Anglo-Afghan relations.

The First World War (1914–18).—The princes and peoples of India enthusiastically supported the British Government during

the war. The spontaneous demonstrations of loyalty encouraged the Viceroy to send all the available troops to the war front. During the four years of fighting, India contributed nearly ten lakhs of soldiers and four lakhs of non-combatants to the war. The Indian troops fought on the battlefields of France, East Africa, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Greece.

India met the cost of her troops and contributed one hundred million pounds sterling towards the expenses of the war. The Indian princes and people gave generously of their money for the purposes of war and the relief of sufferers. In the supply of war material, India's share was equally magnanimous. The great sacrifices made by India raised her status in the eyes of the world, and not only was an Indian invited to sign the Treaty of Versailles, which ended the war, but India's status was recognised by making her one of the members of the League of Nations, which was created by the treaty to settle the quarrels of the nations in future.

(iv) Relations of the Government of India with the Tribes of the North-West Frontier

By the annexation of Sindh and the Punjab, the British came into immediate contact with the tribes living on the North-West Frontier. The borderland dividing India from Afghanistan consisted of the narrow plain which forms the western portion of the Indus valley, and the confused mass of hills which rise from the plain. The hills are intersected by deep valleys over which hang precipitous ridges. They are traversed by two main passes, the Khyber in the north, and the Bolan in the south; the first leads from Peshawar to Jalalabad and the second from Kandahar to Quetta. The hills are inhabited by tribes who have always followed an independent and predatory life.

These tribes controlled the passes between India and Afghanistan, and it was, therefore, a question of the greatest importance to the Indian Government how to manage the tribes so as to secure tranquillity for the borderland and protection for Indian subjects.

The first task of the Government was to delimit the frontier which would effectively separate India from Afghanistan, and which could be most easily defended. Lord Lawrence and the Stationary School of British politicians considered that the river Indus should be regarded as the boundary of India, and all territory beyond the Indus should be abandoned. This view was

given up in the time of Lord Lytton, for according to the Forward School the scientific frontier of India should be the line stretching from Kabul through Ghazni to Kandahar. Quetta was, therefore, occupied in 1877, Pishin and Sibi were annexed in 1879, and British Baluchistan was created. The advance of Russia to the northern frontiers of Afghanistan brought about a compromise between the two schools. It was decided to set up in Afghanistan a strong and friendly state whose existence would lessen the chances of a clash between the two empires. The northern frontiers of Afghanistan were, therefore, defined by the Boundary Commission of 1886, and the southern and the eastern frontiers by the Durand Agreement of 1893. The Durand line with later modifications became the boundary of India.

The next task of the Government was to settle the problem of the control of the tribes. The country inhabited by the tribes was poor and the inhabitants fanatical. Poverty and religious bigotry kept them restless, and they lived by plundering the inhabitants of the rich plains of the neighbourhood and the caravans of merchants passing through their country. The tribes living along the Sindh border were easier to manage, and the policy of conciliation and payment of allowances followed by Sandeman, and the establishment of special system of administration in Baluchistan, succeeded in bringing about peace and tranquillity.

The tribes on the Punjab border were harder to manage. At first the deputy commissioners of the border districts of the Punjab dealt with the tribes, but in 1878 the system of political agents was introduced. The frontier was protected by a chain of forts, and a special frontier force was organised which was later amalgamated with the regular army.

In 1893 Chitral became the scene of commotion. The death of the chief led to a conflict among the sons, and the British garrison was besieged in 1895. It was relieved by the advance of the British forces by way of Malakand. The frontier was again disturbed in 1897, when the tribes rose under the instigation of fanatical Mullahs and attacked the British posts. Expeditionary forces quelled the rising. When Lord Curzon arrived in India, he devised a new system for the control of the whole frontier from Chitral to Baluchistan. He withdrew the British forces from the advanced posts, employed the tribal levies for keeping peace, concentrated the British forces in the British territories behind the border and improved the communications by building roads and

railways connecting the places held by the British garrisons. These measures resulted in moderate success.

(v) Relations of the Government of India with the Indian States

The Indian States were regarded before 1858 as subordinate and isolated units. Their relations with the British Government were recorded in separate treaties with each state. They were looked upon as sources of danger to the British rule in India, and therefore, they were not allowed to retain troops or to correspond with one another, and their mutual relations as well as external interests were completely controlled by the British Government. They were allowed to administer their territories in their own way, but their successions required the confirmation of the supreme power, which also retained the right of interference on the ground of mismanagement—especially financial. The policy of the East India Company towards them was one of general distrust, and therefore, of utilising every opportunity to annex their territories.

The Revolt of 1857 removed much of the distrust as regards the princes, and although no alteration was made in the treaties, a change came about in their relations with the paramount power. The rapid development of the means of transport and communication, the growth of common economic interests, and the acceptance of higher standards of administration, helped the change.

When the Government of India passed into the hands of the Crown, direct and personal relations were established between the British monarch and the princes. This strengthened the bonds of loyalty and allegiance, and the Indian Government obtained greater opportunities for influence, interference and control.

The Proclamation of the Queen in 1858 allayed the anxiety of the princes by a declaration in clear terms that the sovereign desired no further annexation of Indian territory. To reassure the princes further, special *Sanads* were issued sanctioning the practice of adoption. These measures guaranteed the perpetuity of the Indian states, and ensured their position as integral parts of the Indian Empire. Their status of subordination, of course, remained, but they were no longer isolated. They entered into union and co-operation with the paramount power.

The consequences of the new position were that in their external relations with foreign powers they remained under the control of the British, and in their relations with the Crown they ceased to be regarded as sovereign. The paramount power abandoned for

ever the right of annexation, and obtained from the princes acquiescence in the control, even though the treaties did not provide for it. The variety of relations established by the treaties was gradually replaced by uniformity of treatment, by the exercise of greater influence and more interference. Mysore offers the best example of the solicitude of the Government to preserve a state. In 1851 the mismanagement of the state had led to the deposition of the Raja and the assumption of administration by the British. In 1868, the Raja died without a natural heir, but the Government promised to recognise the adopted heir, and in 1881, when he came of age, restored the state to him.

The cases of Baroda and Manipur illustrate the principle that the Government reserved to itself the right to interfere in the internal affairs of a state, and to depose the reigning prince. Malhar Rao Gaikwar was the ruling prince of Baroda in 1874. His state had fallen into disorder. He was accused of attempting to poison the British Resident. A court consisting of British officials, Indian princes and ministers was set up to try him. The court did not reach a unanimous decision, but Malhar Rao was deposed on the charge of misgovernment. The state was not annexed, and a young relative of the Gaikwar was seated on the *gaddi*.

In Manipur (Assam) a rebellion broke out in 1891. The rebels expelled the prince and killed the Commissioner of Assam. The rebellion was crushed, the expelled prince was deposed, but the son was recognised as the chief of the state.

In 1905 the growth of unrest in British India caused another change in the attitude of the Government towards the Indian states. The policy of interference and control was resented by the princes, and as the Government desired to strengthen its hands against the Indian agitation, it gave up its coercive policy and began to cultivate relations of friendship with them. The result of the change was that the Imperial Service Troops, which had come into existence in 1886, were encouraged and developed. The princes were no longer forbidden mutual relations, and when they offered their services during the First World War they were taken into closer confidence. In 1917 Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford recommended the establishment of a Chamber of Princes, which was inaugurated in 1921. The Government also recognised the need of interpreting the treaties in a more elastic manner. The creation of a favourable atmosphere encouraged the princes to raise their demands higher.

(vi) Growth of National Consciousness

Many causes combined to produce the consciousness of nationality in the nineteenth century. The development of the Indian civilisation in the Middle Age had already prepared the ground. The Indian peoples belonging to many races and creeds had gradually evolved a common outlook upon life, common customs and manners, and common ways of living. Their arts and literatures gave expression to their common ideals. But they stopped short of the realisation of the idea of an all-embracing society which united within its fold all the tribes, castes and communities of India. In the nineteenth century began the operation of those forces which gave birth to the idea of the Indian nation. Once aroused, this consciousness of national unity spread in ever wider circles and permeated deeper and deeper in the lives of Indians. The growth of this consciousness had naturally awakened the desire for self-determination and Swarajya, and had inspired the great movements for reform in religion, society and government.

Three causes may be distinguished in this process. The first cause is economic, which provided the foundation for the unity of India.

The second cause, which powerfully advanced this unity, was the establishment of a uniform system of administration and government. Owing to the centralisation of political power, the autonomy of the village disappeared. Owing to the adoption of uniform codes of laws recognising the rights of individuals, the self-sufficiency of the groups, like caste and clan, was destroyed, for the laws tended to give freedom to the individuals to follow their own inclinations and interests, and to draw the individuals together into a community bound by a single legal system. The direct relations between the Government and the people, which eliminated the intermediaries, broke up the old political system. The activity of the Government in the various departments of life roused the consciousness that the adversity or welfare of the people depended upon the Government, the pressure which the British rule exerted over the whole of India up to its farthest frontiers, and the racial and cultural differences which divided the rulers from the ruled, still further stimulated this feeling.

The third cause was the spread of European ideas in India. The schools, the press, and travel had brought the Indian mind into intimate relations with European ideas, customs and institutions.

The study of European literature, especially of English, gave a strong stimulus to the sentiment of nationalism. English literature abounds in patriotic poems and songs of moving beauty and great power which extol the love of one's country. No one who reads them can remain unaffected. Again, the strong individualism, the appeal to man's reason, the occupation with the joys and sorrows of this world which are the characteristics of that literature, had exercised a great influence in changing the mediæval outlook of the people of India.

As a result of the economic transition, establishment of administrative uniformity and the spread of western ideas, appeared the educated middle class of India which exercised a tremendous influence in the reformation of the religious, moral, social and political life of the country. In the Middle Age the Pandits and Maulvis formed the learned class, which exerted much influence on the religious life of society, but possessed little influence with the rulers. The modern educated class, which consists of professional men like lawyers, doctors, teachers, and journalists, and of industrialists, bankers and traders carrying on their business in accordance with modern methods, forms a most powerful group. The Indian officers of the Government belonged to this class, and the efficiency of the administration had largely depended upon them. This class supplied most of the leaders of the movements which have transformed Indian society. The rise of the educated middle class was one of the most important results of the establishment of British rule in India.

Movements of Religious and Social Reform in the Nineteenth Century.—The people of India had failed to resist the onward march of British conquest, and before the middle of the nineteenth century the whole country had fallen prostrate before its conquerors. The downfall of a people who boasted of a most ancient civilisation was a very striking event. It led them to think of the defects of their society, and prompted them to uproot these evils. Among them lack of social solidarity, for which their differences were responsible, was the greatest.

Again, the Indians of the eighteenth century had fallen on evil times. They were lacking in earnestness and integrity, they were selfish and incapable of subordinating their personal interests to the interests of the country. They were superstitious in religion or indifferent towards the higher ideals of life, or blind followers of custom and tradition. In any case, their spiritual life was stagnant and, therefore, the first movements which arose from the

impact of western culture aimed at the awakening of the Indian mind from its stupor. The Hindus and the Muslims were both similarly affected, and reformers appeared among both to revive the purity of their life and faith.

The Hindu Reforms. — The revival in Hinduism began with Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1774–1833) who founded the *Brahma Samaj* in 1828. Its first temple was opened in 1830. The Samaj



Ram Mohan Roy

sought to purify Hinduism and to establish the worship of one true God, whose will was revealed in the *Vedas* and *Upanishads*. It attacked social evils like caste, and advocated the uplift of women. It desired to strengthen the bonds of union between

men of all religions and creeds. Devendranath Tagore, who joined it in 1842, became one of its greatest leaders. Another great leader was Keshab Chandra Sen, who was much influenced by Christian thought. He separated from the original society and established the new Brahma Samaj in 1866. In 1881, the new Samaj was again split into two. Thus three societies came to be established. They exercised much influence in Bengal. The earliest branch had given India Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, and Abanindranath Tagore, the painter. In Bombay the visit of Keshab Chandra Sen led to the foundation of the Prarthana Samaj in 1867. Its leaders were Mr. Justice Ranade, Sir R. C. Bhandarkar and Sir Narayana Chandavarkar. The Samaj did a great deal of work in the sphere of educational and social reform.

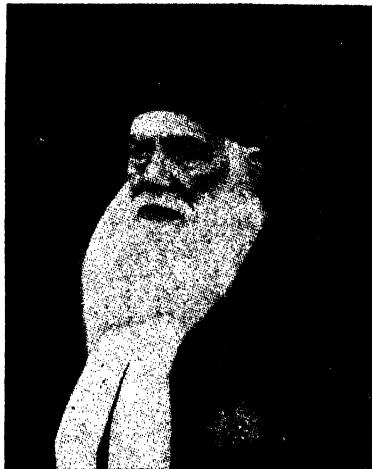
The Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayananda in 1875. He was a profound Sanskrit scholar, an energetic reformer and a great patriot. He denounced idolatry and caste, and taught the unity of God and the sacredness of the *Vedas*. He denounced the many social evils which had crept into Hindu society, and his inspiration led to the foundation of many educational institutions both for boys and girls in Northern India. The Arya Samaj has fostered pride in the achievements of the ancient Indians and has helped in building up a sturdy and self-reliant character. Its aggressive religious work has, however, evoked much opposition from those whom it attacked.

The Theosophical Society was established by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott in 1875. It strove to revive the ancient Hindu religion by defending its dogmas and practices from the attacks of the reformers. The movement appealed to the orthodox among the educated classes. Mrs. Annie Besant, the gifted orator, was the guiding spirit of the movement. She founded the Central Hindu College at Varanasi, and an institution at Adyar, near Madras. The society openly proclaimed the superiority of the Hindu culture to the civilisation of the West, and helped in arousing among the Hindus a sense of pride in their country.

Shri Rama Krishna Paramhansa was a religious devotee who had a passionate longing for the realisation of God. He sought truth in all religions, and after a long process of self-discipline believed that he had gained a first-hand knowledge of it. He proclaimed the fundamental unity of all religions. His famous disciple, Swami Vivekananda, was a wonderful orator, who lectured on *Vedanta* in many western countries from 1895 to 1897.

In India, he preached the life of practical *Vedanta*. He was a great patriot who held that India was the spiritual teacher of the world. His inspiration led to the foundation of many *Sevashramas*—homes of service for the sick, the suffering, and the poor.

Religious Movements among the Muslims.—The first leader among the Muslims who tried to remove the evil practices of the Muslim community and to establish purer ideals of life was Sayyid Ahmad Bareilvi, who died fighting against the Sikhs in 1831. Among his teachers were the famous scholar, Maulvi Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi, who wrote a noted commentary on the Quran, and Maulvi Abdul Qadir, who made the first Urdu translation of the Quran. Karamat Ali, a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad, who died in 1873, carried on the propaganda of his master in Eastern Bengal.



Sir Sayyid Ahmad.

These early efforts originated with the reformers who had not been affected by western education, but the later movements were due to the Muslim leaders who came under the influence of western ideas. Among them was Maulvi Chiragh Ali, who was born near Meerut in 1844, and who served under the British Government and in the Hyderabad State. He was a profound scholar of Arabic and Persian, and an advocate of social reforms. He died in 1895.

But the greatest reformer among the Muslims was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–98), who roused the Muslims from their lethargy by his religious and social teachings. He had a firm conviction that the study of western sciences was necessary for the progress of the Muslims and, therefore, in 1875, he founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College which later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. He also wrote a commentary on the Quran which made a departure from the traditional point of view, and attempted to interpret the Holy Book in accordance with rational principles. The Aligarh movement exercised a

tremendous influence on the mind of the Muslims; it created among them the ambition to obtain for their community its proper place among the other communities of India, and turned their thoughts from the fruitless contemplation of their past glories and defeats to the actual pursuit of the ideal of progress and advancement in the modern world.

Maulvi Shibli Numani (1857–1914) was a colleague of Sir Sayyid who founded the Nadwatul Ulama (a school for oriental learning) at Lucknow, to reform the education of the Maulvis of the old type, and the *Darul Musannifin* (academy of authors) at Azamgarh, for researches in Islamic studies.

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Quadiani (1839–1908) was a purely religious reformer. He held that the Muslims had fallen from greatness because they had forgotten the original meaning of their faith. He claimed to be a messenger of God who had been sent to re-establish the pure Muslim religion. He taught a spiritual and moral, rather than a literal, obedience to the injunctions of the Quran. He held that *Jihad* (religious warfare) was not binding on the Muslims, and that all religions were from God, although Islam was the final and the universal religion. The followers of the Ahmadiyya movement were mainly found in the Punjab, although its influence extended to many parts of India and it established a mission in England.

Political Reformers.—The material and economic changes prepared the ground for the growth of nationalism; the developments in religion and education roused the spirit of moral freedom. But the realisation of moral freedom implies the regulation and determination of our conduct in accordance with the principles which our reason approves, a consequence of which is war against traditionalism and blind faith. But the path of religious and social emancipation, which India had been treading in the nineteenth century, inevitably led her on to march upon the path of political freedom.

Munro, Macaulay and Bentinck had foreseen the goal towards which India was moving. Sir Alfred Lyall, in 1859, had asked, 'Having taught them (Indians) the advantages of liberty and the use of European sciences, how are we to keep them under us and persuade them that it is for their good that we hold all the high offices of Government?' The educated class of Indians and the Indian press were beginning to enquire as to how far the great principles of liberty, equality and justice which characterised the Government in Great Britain, were actually applied to India.

Under the unifying influences which began to operate in the nineteenth century 'the Indian mind was marching on, eager to do what it, for its own part, had to do.' India found that in spite of peace and of material development the people were hungry and naked, stricken with ignorance and disease, and branded with the stigma of inferiority. This state of affairs was obviously wrong, and could not be allowed to continue.

The history of the political struggle and reforms may be divided into three periods.

The First Period, 1858-1877.—Hostility towards British rule had been manifested in the Revolt of 1857. Later the Wahabis, who are a sect of the Muslims, organised propaganda against the Government (1864-73). The Maratha Brahmins showed much disaffection in the period just following the rising, and in the Punjab there were risings among the Sikhs. But these isolated movements of violence failed.

The Second Period, 1877-1905.—In 1877, Queen Victoria assumed the title of the Empress of India and a new era began in Indian politics. The wars against Afghanistan and Burma had increased public expenditure, which continued to grow till it became doubled by 1905. Bad seasons, followed by terrible famines in 1876-77 and again in 1896-99, and the fall in the value of the rupee leading to the enhancement of prices of goods, were causing widespread misery.

The Press began to blame the Government, and the Government tried to silence criticism by passing the Press Act of 1878. When Lord Ripon arrived in India, he tried to pacify Indian public opinion by the grant of local self-government in 1883-84, and by the abolition of the Press Act (1881). But in 1883, when a Bill (Ilbert Bill) was introduced in the legislature to allow the trial of Europeans by Indian magistrates, the European community created a loud uproar. The agitation roused the bitterest feelings among Indians: 'the passionate claim of the European to predominance was to be answered by the passionate claim of the Indian to equality.' Associations were formed to advance the cause.

In 1885, the first meeting of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay under the presidency of W.C. Bonnerjea. 'In that meeting modern India became articulate and from that day onward none could say that she consented to her own bondage.' The Congress demanded the reform of the Indian administration, the admission of Indians in the legislatures of India, and a larger

association of Indians in the higher branches of the Indian services. The object of the Congress was proclaimed to be the eradication of all race, creed or provincial prejudices, and the development and consolidation of national unity. Year after year the popularity of the Congress increased. Its programme included the demands for (1) the relief of Indian poverty; (2) the more satisfactory administration of the government revenue and expenditure; (3) the training and admission of Indians to the commissioned ranks of the army; and (4) the reform of the Constitution.

In 1892, Parliament passed the Indian Councils Act, which introduced some reforms in the legislatures, but otherwise paid no heed to the demands of the Congress. It was held that the Congress represented only the microscopic minority of the educated, but did not represent the wealth or power of India. 'But if the presumption on which representative government ultimately rests is that the party which commands a majority of votes is that which would win in an appeal to force—such basis was lacking in India.'

The famine of 1896, and the outbreak of plague in the same year, caused widespread distress, and combined with the indifference of the Government to the wishes of the reformers, created a party of politicians who advocated more energetic action than the passing of resolutions. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who was an eminent Sanskrit scholar and an intense patriot, became the leader of the party. Lord Curzon's measures produced tremendous excitement and greatly strengthened the forces of the new party. With the appearance of this party the third period of political advance began.

The Third Period, 1905–1919.—The causes which promoted the growth of unrest were plague and famine, the increase of population which had compelled the cultivators to bring under cultivation poorer lands requiring harder toil but giving diminishing profits, and the free trade policy of the Government which aroused the opposition of the moneyed men who desired protection for their industries against foreign competition. The rise in the prices of commodities hit the middle classes whose incomes were fixed. The rapid increase in public expenditure made the burden of taxation heavier, but the ability of the people to meet the growing demands did not develop equally, for a stagnant agriculture remained the principal sources of India's wealth, and industry made very slow progress. These economic causes made

life harder for all classes of people, and the peasants in the villages, the traders and the industrialists in the towns, and the professional men became disaffected.

Sentimental causes added to the bitterness. The ill-treatment of Indians settled in South Africa, and Lord Curzon's measures, especially the Partition of Bengal, and the changes in the educational system, produced great resentment. In an atmosphere full of tension, the news of the victories gained by the Japanese over the Russians, in the war in Manchuria, in 1904-05, sent a thrill throughout the country. The magic spell of European superiority was broken and a new sense of national self-respect was born. As a result the demand for a change in the political status of India became loud and insistent.

The leaders of the party which most vigorously voiced this demand and advocated an active policy to enforce it were: Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Maharashtra, Lajpat Rai of the Punjab, Bipin Chandra Pal and Arabinda Ghosh of Bengal. Opposed to them was the party of gradual progress and of constitutional agitation, led by Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjea and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Both parties tried to win public opinion to their side and they stirred the whole country with agitation. The sessions of the Indian National Congress became animated, and in 1906, at Calcutta, the Congress formulated the demand for Swarajya and adopted resolutions approving Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education. In 1907, the conflict between the two parties led to a split and the new party left the Congress.

As discontent became deeper and more widespread, a number of consequences followed. The Government began to consider measures to satisfy the aspirations of the educated classes. The Muslims, who had so far taken little part in political agitation, realised the need of organising Muslim opinion on political and other affairs, so that in any scheme of reform they should receive their proper share of representation and influence. Lastly a section of hot-headed young men, despairing of peaceful means of political advance, founded secret societies with the object of committing violent deeds.

In 1906, the Muslim League was founded. His Highness the Aga Khan stated the three objects of the League to be: (1) to co-operate with the other Indians in advancing the well-being of the country; (2) to co-operate with the Hindus and other sections of society to remove the peculiar disabilities of the Muslims; and

(3) to promote measures required exclusively for the benefit of the Muslims.

In 1907, the terrorist outrages commenced; many persons were wounded and killed, and much property was looted. The revolutionists followed the methods of the European anarchists and probably received assistance from outside India. But the movement was largely confined to Bengal.

In 1909, the Morley-Minto reforms were proclaimed, the Councils were enlarged and their functions were increased. Special representation was conceded to the Muslims. About the same time repressive laws were enacted. The attempt of the Government to rally the moderates and the Muslims, to repress the extremist and to destroy the revolutionists, succeeded to a large extent. In 1911, King George V and Queen Mary visited India, and the King proclaimed the modification of the Partition of Bengal, and the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi.

In 1914, the First World War broke out. The statesmen of England announced that the British nation and their allies were fighting for the principles of freedom and self-determination of nations. The princes and people of India enthusiastically responded to the call of their Government and made generous offers of men and money for the war. But as the war dragged on, the warmth of feeling began to wane. S.P. Sinha (afterwards Lord Sinha), who presided over the Congress of 1915 in Bombay, demanded of the Government the establishment of self-government in India, or in other words, 'government of the people, for the people and by the people.'

The Muslims were deeply concerned, for the Sultan of Turkey, who was their Caliph, was at war with the British, and they showed anxiety on behalf of their co-religionists outside India. In 1916, Mrs. Besant founded the Home Rule League with the object of bringing together all political parties and communities in the demand for Swarajya. In December, 1916, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League met at Lucknow. It was the first Congress since 1907 which the advanced politicians attended. Mr. Jinnah, the President of the League, declared that self-government for India was the political ideal of the Muslim community. The Congress and the Muslim League accepted a common goal for India and evolved a common scheme for the establishment of self-government. The achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity raised the hopes of India high. But the internment

of Mrs. Besant in 1917 raised a storm. To allay Indian feelings, Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, made a memorable announcement on 20th August, 1917, to the effect that the policy of the British Government was 'the progressive realisation of responsible government in India.' In the same year Mr. Montagu visited India, and with the assistance of Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India, drew up a report in which the scheme of political reforms was explained. In December, 1919, the scheme was embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919, which conceded the element of responsibility in the Provincial Governments. Although the moderate politicians expressed their desire to work the new Constitution, the Congress condemned the reforms as unsatisfactory. The introduction of the principle of responsibility in the Indian Constitution was a recognition of the growth of Indian nationalism.

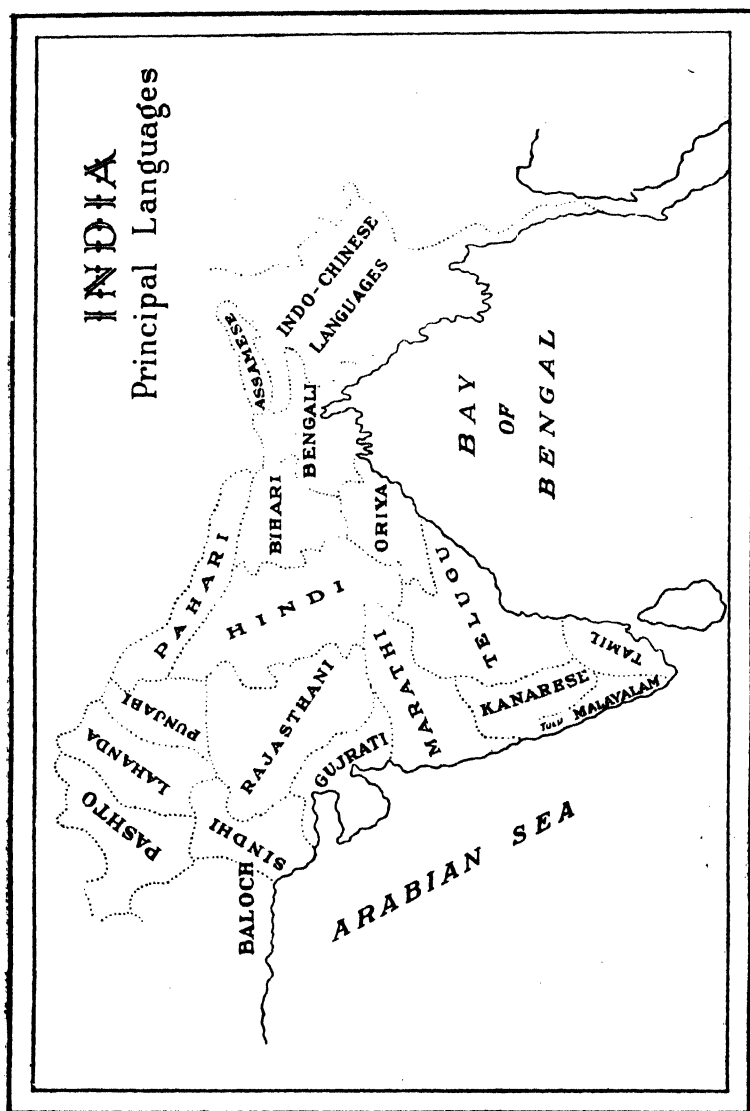
3. Literature and Art

The establishment of British rule in India caused a profound change in the social and political conditions of India. As a result of the impact of western civilisation a revolution took place in the moral and intellectual life of the Indian people. In the past, the Indian mind had been largely dominated by a religious and other-worldly spirit, and the Indian societies were pervaded by aristocratic and princely ideals. Our culture was traditional, looked to the authority of the past for inspiration and was based on a belief in the unchanging order of things. Our literature and art were an expression of this culture.

The modern epoch of Indian civilisation began with the British conquest. As Bengal came first under British rule the western culture made its appearance there first. Literature and art and ways of living all came under its influence. In literature, the old subjects and styles changed. Prose writing was scarce in the pre-British times, now it became popular. Novels, stories, essays, histories and other works were written more and more. In poetry, new themes, secular as well as religious, were adopted.

In the arts, new styles of architecture and painting were created.

The main characteristics of modern civilisation are that it is critical in spirit, it lays great store by reason and the discovery and use of laws of nature. It does not follow authority blindly. Modern civilisation emphasises the worth of man both as an individual and as a member of society and emphasises liberty



and equality. But among main interests, it recognises those as of greater value which concern his welfare in this world. It does not take much notice of the other world. It regards the nation as the highest goal of human association and the only means of realising the happiness of man. It believes in progress, and considers both man and society subject to the law of progress. The modern spirit is thus deeply interested in man and his surroundings—human and natural. It is equally interested in the varied aspects of man's inner life, in the struggle of right and wrong within him, in the development of his reason and the play of his passions and emotions, and in his efforts to establish harmony within his soul. It is interested in man's social and natural environment too, in man's relations with family, society, state and humanity, and in the world of nature which surrounds him—land and water, earth and sky, plant and animal, and the phenomena of changing time, weather and seasons.

Literature.—The literature and art of the modern period are inspired with this spirit. In literature, we have abandoned the cultivation of the ancient and classical languages and we now employ the modern Indian languages, which have been developing since the beginning of the Middle Age. Among the important languages are Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Kashmiri and Sindhi in the north, and Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam in the south. The history of the development of literature may be divided into three periods—(1) early, (2) middle and (3) modern.

The First Period.—The Hindi poets of the early school lived at the courts of the Indian princes. Among them the best known were Chandra Shekhar (1798–1875), the author of *Hammir Hath*, and Padmakar (1753–1833), the author of *Jagad Vinod*. The early school of Urdu poetry was at the height of its popularity as some of the greatest poets flourished during this period at Delhi, Lucknow, Rampur, Patna and Hyderabad, which were the centres of Mughal courts. The names of Ghalib and Anis stand out as two of the most distinguished poets of the time. In spite of the fact that the literature of the other provinces was characterised by a decadent style, the Urdu poetry of the period is strong and vigorous and largely free from the blemishes which are found in the other Indian literatures of this time. The lyric (*ghazal*) of Ghalib and the elegies (*Marsia*) of Anis are masterpieces of art.

In Gujarat, the old Bhakti cult, as taught by Vallabha,

continued to supply the impetus for poetry of a devotional type. A new order of Bhaktas established by Sahajanand Swami, which arose in protest against Vallabha's mode of worship, gathered round it a number of poets. But the most original and influential poet of the period was Dayarama (1767-1852), who was a singer of love lyrics.

In Bengal, among the poets of the traditional style were the *Kabiwalas* (songsters), who composed popular songs on the theme of the love of Radha and Krishna, the composers of devotional songs and love lyrics, and the poets who translated or adapted old Sanskrit works into Bengali, like Raghunandan Goswami and Jayanarayan Ghosal.

The Second Period.—The influence of western ideas had begun to be felt from the early days of the British rule. After the Revolt of 1857 it pervaded the country with rapidity. By the middle of the century the modern Indian languages had made much progress and were ready to be the media of high class literature.

Among the modern languages, Bengali outstripped all the others. Bengali writers developed every branch of their literature both in prose and poetry, and a number among them have obtained recognition and fame not only in India but throughout the world. Bankim Chandra Chatterji wrote many novels and is the author of the famous national song, *Bandemataram*. Among Bengali poets the most eminent was Michael Madhusudan Dutt, whose long poems like *Meghnad Badh* are famous.

Among the Urdu authors, Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar, who depicts the society of Lucknow in his *Fisanai Azad*; Altaf Hussain Hali, the composer of the great poem which narrates with deep pathos the story of the rise and decline of Islam; and Muhammad Husain Azad, the prose writer, are justly celebrated.

Hindi was not so rich in great writers in this period, for it had to abandon the old modes of speech and writing which were employed so successfully in the past and to create a new mode of expression known as the *Khari Boli*. The number of those who are cultivating the new Hindi is ever increasing. The names of Harishchandra, the dramatist, and Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, who wrote both prose and poetry, stand out.

In the Marathi language, a rich literature has sprung up. It has derived its inspiration from the awakening which took place in Maharashtra for the reform of religion and society, and it has been influenced by western ideas and models. The foundations

of Marathi prose literature were laid by Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, and of the modern drama by Annasahib Kirloskar. Marathi claims numerous poets and authors, but among them writers of outstanding merit are not many.

Among writers of Gujarati, the names of Narmada Shankar, the father of Gujarati prose, and Nanalal Kavi, the poet, may be mentioned.

The Dravidian languages were equally prolific.

The Third Period.—Since the beginning of the twentieth century abundant and vigorous prose and poetry have flourished. Every one of the Indian languages has produced a number of good writers. One or two outstanding names may be mentioned.

In Hindi Maithili Sharan Gupta and Prem Chand; in Urdu Muhammad Iqbal, the poet; in Bengali Rabindranath Tagore, the greatest creative writer and poet of India; in Marathi Tilak; in Tamil Subramanya Bharati, have achieved fame.

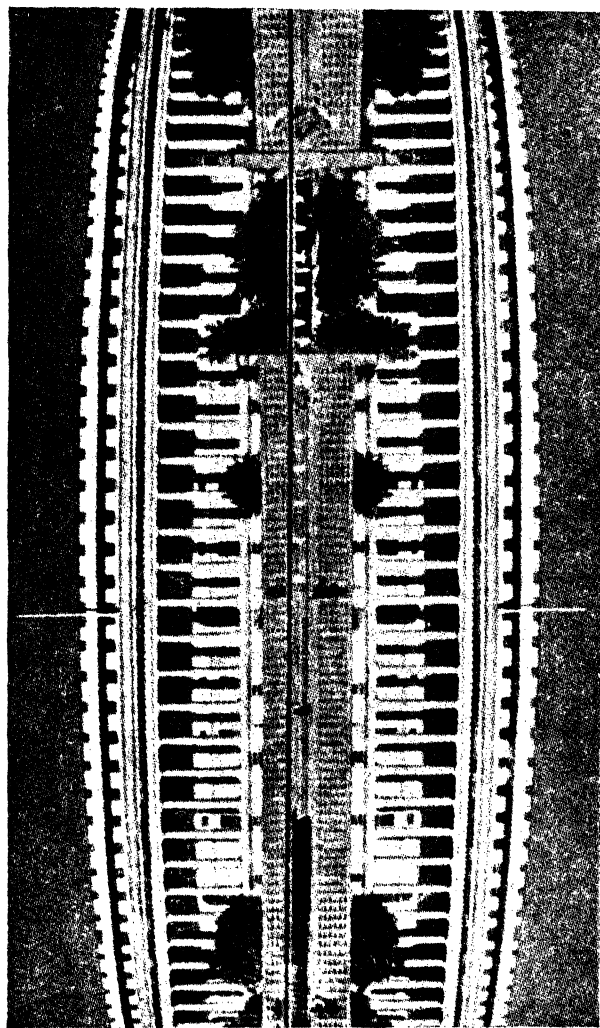
Art.—Indian art during the first half of the nineteenth century was fast decaying. The painters, sculptors and architects of India had lost the impulse which created new forms. They were imitating the old forms and following the traditional styles. The failure of the Indians in their struggle with the western nations had shaken their faith in their own ideals. They had drifted from the principles of their civilisation and had not mastered the principles of the new. The old canons of art were disregarded and the new ones were not evolved. The result was a great decline in taste and in the power of appreciating true art.

The buildings which continued to be built by the descendants of the hereditary craftsmen still showed the beauty of the old art. But this enfeebled style, after lingering among the old cities like Delhi, Jaipur, Lucknow, Hyderabad and Mysore, gradually died out. Its place was taken by a new style of architecture in which there was a senseless imitation of western models. The Chhatar Manzil of Nasiruddin Haidar and the Qaisar Bagh of Wazid Ali Shah at Lucknow, built in brick and plaster, and the huge houses which the Rajas and the landlords of Bengal built in Calcutta, are examples of the debased taste which created these monuments of vulgar art.

Throughout the nineteenth century architecture continued to exhibit this vitiated taste. The buildings erected by the Government, through the agency of the Public Works Department or by the Indian princes and men of wealth, were built in styles which show little sense of beauty.



The Victoria Memorial, Calcutta.



Parliament House, New Delhi.

More recently a change has come over public feeling. Although the traditional Mughal and Rajput styles have lost their hold, both on account of a change in taste and in the methods and materials of building, attempts have been made to evolve a distinctive style which without ceasing to be Indian incorporates western elements. The buildings erected by the British Government in the twentieth century show a greater appreciation of art. They make a praiseworthy departure from the architectural style of the nineteenth century. Among these buildings are the Victoria Memorial of Calcutta, and the Assembly Hall and the Secretariat buildings in New Delhi.

Painting illustrates the working of similar tendencies. The painters who worked at the courts of the Indian princes at Lucknow, Lahore, Amritsar, Patna, Poona, Tanjore, Mysore and other places during the first half of the nineteenth century continued the tradition of drawing and colouring according to the old models, but more and more ineffectively. The Rajput and Pahari schools also declined rapidly. The contact with the West led to blind imitation of European art without the understanding of its principles. The Indian people lost the appreciation of true art, and Indian houses began to be decorated with cheap European pictures or with vulgar paintings drawn by Indian artists who copied western methods. From this deplorable condition painting was rescued by a group of Bengali painters who were influenced by the teachings of E. B. Havell. Their leader was Abanindranath Tagore who drew his inspiration from the study of the ancient Indian art of Ajanta and the art of China and Japan. He trained a group of artists who endeavoured to revive Indian art and to elevate the taste of the public. Among the most noted younger artists were Nandalal Bose of Bengal and Abdur Rahman Chaghtai of the Punjab. In Bombay, a new school of artists under the guidance of W.E.G. Solomon created a style of painting which sought to assimilate the western modes to Indian conditions.

4. The Dawn of Self-Government, 1919–1935

The transformation of the conditions of life in India, and the growth of the sentiment of nationality, effected a change in the Indian system of government. It was recognised by the rulers of India that it was no longer possible to govern the country according to the old autocratic methods. The constitution of the Government was consequently modified, and the element of

responsibility to the people was introduced in the provincial administrations by the Act of 1919.

A new era was thus inaugurated in the history of India. But the commencement of this era coincided with the close of the war of 1914–18, which was till then unparalleled in history for its devastating effects. The war shook the foundations of western civilisation and left behind a legacy of racial hatred, economic chaos and political revolution, which threatened to overthrow the world order.

India could not escape from the influence of these conditions, and during the years which followed she passed through a period of storm and stress. On the frontiers, India felt heavy pressure, and, within her borders, social movements and political upheavals stirred the life to its depths.

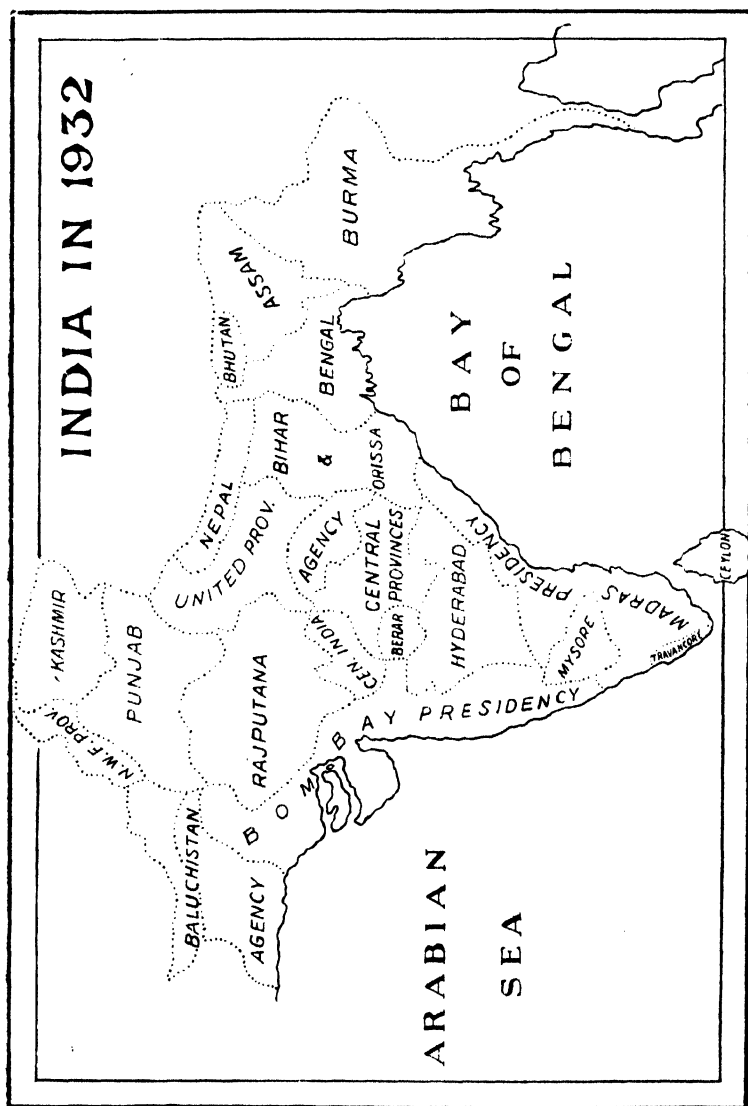
The history of these strenuous years is, therefore, in the first place, a record of the events on the frontiers which have depended upon the changing conditions beyond the frontiers. In the second place, it is a record of the activities of the people and the Government, in consequence of the changes in the internal conditions, both material and moral.

(i) External Relations

Two factors determined the external relations of India; firstly, the political situation in Europe, and, secondly, the condition of India's Asiatic neighbours.

In 1919, the situation was that Great Britain and her allies had won a complete victory over Germany and, therefore, the one formidable foe who, for a number of years had threatened British supremacy in the world, was humiliated and overthrown. But the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia raised an enemy who appeared to constitute an even greater menace to the British Empire. For soon after the revolution, the United Soviet Socialist Republic established its control over the Muslim principalities of Central Asia and then began to extend its influence over the states of Western Asia and China. Thus, the danger which had throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century loomed large on the horizon of India, reappeared on her borders, to disturb the minds of the British Imperial statesmen.

The countries of Western Asia, namely, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, were the Asiatic neighbours of India, and the political, social, and cultural developments in them reacted upon India.



Afghanistan.—After the murder of Amir Habib Ullah, his third son, Amanullah, came to the throne, but he found himself surrounded with difficulties. His subjects were suspicious of his conduct, and there were factions among the nobility and disaffection in the army. His zeal for reform aroused opposition, and his enemies among tribes conspired to bring about his fall. He was anxious to assert the full sovereignty of Afghanistan and to end her dependence on the British in matters of foreign relations. His effort to bring about a change in the treaty with Britain did not succeed, and so he declared war.

The Third Afghan War.—The Afghan attack began in April, 1919. It met with resistance and was held up. The British bombed Jalalabad and Kabul. The Afghans gained success at Thal; then the parties decided to make peace. The privileges enjoyed by the predecessors of Amanullah were withdrawn, and the subsidy was stopped, but the independence of Afghanistan in its foreign relations was recognised.

The Third Afghan War came to an end in 1919. Two years after the peace was concluded, a treaty was made (in 1921) which established friendly relations between the two governments. They were further strengthened by the trade convention of 1923. Amanullah's regime of reform was, however, rudely brought to an end in 1928, when civil war broke out in Afghanistan and the king was forced to abdicate. After a lapse of about a year, King Nadir Shah put an end to confusion, and re-established peace. He was unfortunately murdered on 8th November, 1933. During his life, Nadir Shah remained on terms of friendship with the British Government. His son Zahir Shah was immediately proclaimed king with the title of Muhammad Zahir Shah, and continued to be the ruler.

The North-West Frontier and the Border Region.—The North-West Frontier of India, which divided India from the rest of Asia, starts from beyond Gilgit and ends where the foot-hills of Makran touch the sea. It is divided into three parts. Its northern end lies in a tangled mass of mountains where the Himalayas join the Hindu Kush. In its middle course, it runs along the mountainous country traversed by the Sulaiman range to Nushki, and thence westwards to Kohi Malik Siah. The southern end passes through the barren wastes of Panjgur and Makran to the sea. Between this frontier (known as the Durand line), and the western boundary of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier

Province (now part of Pakistan) lies the border region which dominates the great passes leading from west to east.

This region, which is peopled with tribes who have been a source of trouble throughout the history of India, may be divided into two sections—the northern which extends from the north of the Kabul river to Waziristan, and the southern which includes Waziristan itself. The northern region was largely governed by a number of important chieftains, who fought among themselves but have given little trouble to India. But in Waziristan conditions were different. The country was poor, hilly, and infertile, and the inhabitants were warlike and lived by raiding and plundering. During the war and after, they carried on depredations and the British Government had to undertake expeditions to punish them.

The problem of establishing permanent peace in Waziristan received much attention during this period. There were two schools of opinion regarding the solution. One advocated the Forward Policy, that is, the policy of bringing the tribes under the permanent administration of the British. The other advocated the policy of the Closed Border, that is, the policy of complete withdrawal from the border region and the establishment of a strong line of defence between India and the borderland.

The Government of India adopted a middle course. The military evacuated the country, but an internal control through British officers and Khassadars (tribal levies) was established. Armed and fortified posts were built to overawe the territory, and roads were constructed to allow the influences of civilisation to penetrate the country. The Khyber Railway, opened in 1925 between Jamrud and Landikotal, served in the northern region the same purpose as the metalled roads in Waziristan.

(ii) Internal Development

The internal history of India from the inauguration of the Reforms upto 1947 has two aspects. In the first place, it is the history of the activities of the Government, whether in the matter of maintaining law and order, or of advancing the material and moral welfare of the people. Secondly, it is the record of the efforts of the people towards self-government.

The Activities of the Government.—The Government had to face during the period two main problems—of political demands and of economic distress. The first absorbed much of its attention and exercised a great strain upon its power. The second affected

its resources, prevented the undertaking of new activities and retarded the pace of beneficent and progressive measures.

Constitutional Reforms.—Lord Chelmsford retired from the Viceroyalty of India in 1921, after ushering in the era of Reform. The Duke of Connaught, who inaugurated the new Legislature at Delhi, delivered the following message from His Majesty King George V: 'For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. Today you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.'

The Earl of Reading (1921–26), who succeeded Lord Chelmsford, had to meet the demand for further political advance from the beginning of his term of office. In 1923, the Swarajya Party entered the Legislative Assembly and began to press the Government for the revision of the Act of 1919.

In 1924, the Government appointed a Committee with Sir Alexander Muddiman as its president, to examine the Act with a view to improving the working of the Reforms. The Report of the Committee, however, did not lead to any important result. The Assembly, while considering the Report in 1925, urged upon the Government the desirability of summoning a representative Round Table Conference to draw up a scheme for Constitution for India.

Lord Irwin (1926–31) was appointed Governor-General and Viceroy of India, on the retirement of Lord Reading. In 1927, the British Government appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the Reforms and to consider the question of further advance. It consisted of seven members, with Sir John Simon as Chairman. Most of the leaders of Indian public opinion and the Legislative Assembly refused to cooperate with the Commission. In order to placate the Indians, Lord Irwin announced in 1929 that the British Government had decided to set up a Round Table Conference, at which members of the Government would meet the representatives of India, that is, of British India and the Indian States, for the purpose of laying agreed proposals before the British Parliament regarding the Reforms. He also formally recognised that the natural goal of India's political aspirations was the attainment of Dominion Status.

The First Round Table Conference met in London in November 1930. The representatives of the British Government and Parlia-

ment, of the parties and communities in British India—except the Congress, and of the Indian States, met together to find a solution for the constitutional problems. There were three main questions at issue. In the first place, the question was whether the scheme of self-government should apply to British India alone, or to Greater India, consisting of British India and the Indian States. Secondly, what was the extent and scope of power which Parliament should transfer immediately to a self-governing India. Thirdly, what safeguards should be provided in the Constitution, in order to protect the communities which were in a minority, to secure the interests of certain groups, and to prevent the breakdown of Government.

The Conference agreed that India should form a federation of self-governing provinces and states; that Parliament should transfer control over the provincial administration to the people, set up a dyarchy in the Central Government reserving power over the army and foreign affairs, and provide in the Constitution certain safeguards for the minorities and the commercial interests and against misrule. The exact nature of these was left to be determined by subsequent conferences.

The Second Conference met in London in 1931, after **Lord Willingdon** (1931–36) had assumed the office of the Viceroy of India. In this Conference the Congress also participated. The proceedings were marred by the failure of the Hindus, the Muslims and the depressed classes to agree upon their proper representation in the Indian legislatures and the services. At the Third Conference (1932), the British Government produced its own scheme of reforms. This was printed in the form of a White Paper and later (1933) submitted for the scrutiny of a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament. After it had been examined and modified by the Committee it was brought before Parliament to be embodied in the form of a statute.

The Committee presented their report in October 1934, and Parliament passed the Government of India Act in 1935, which was largely based on the recommendations of the Joint Committee.

The Government of India Act, 1935.—The three main principles of the Act were:—(1) the establishment of an All-India Federation, (2) the autonomy of the Provinces, and (3) the transfer of responsibility both in the Central and Provincial Governments with safeguards.

The Act provided for the establishment of the Federation of

India by the Proclamation of His Majesty on a request made by both Houses of Parliament. The Federation would consist of (a) the Governor's Provinces and the Chief Commissioner's Provinces, and (b) the Indian States which might accede to the Federation.

The Executive authority of the Federation was vested in His Majesty, and was to be exercised on his behalf by the Governor-General, who would be aided and advised by a Council of Ministers in the exercise of his function. But the Governor-General had special responsibilities which he could discharge at his discretion.

Among these matters the most important were: (1) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India, (2) the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the federal Government, (3) the safeguarding of the interests of the minorities, (4) the safeguarding of the interests of the services, (5) the prevention of discrimination against British goods or British companies and traders, and (6) the securing of the due discharge of functions with respect to reserved subjects—namely, defence, foreign relations and ecclesiastical affairs.

The Governor-General was to be appointed by His Majesty and was to be the head of the Federal Executive. He was to be assisted by three Councillors in the discharge of his special functions and responsibilities, but for all other functions he was to act on the advice of the Council of Ministers who were to be chosen from among the members of the Federal Legislature, to which they were to be responsible.

The Act also provided for a Federal Legislature composed of two Chambers, known as the Council of State and the House of Assembly, which were to consist of the representatives of the Provinces and the Indian States.

The Federal part of the Act was to become operative only when a proportion of Indian States had signified their readiness to join. But for various reasons the federation was never formed and the Central Government continued to function under the Act of 1919.

An essential feature of the Act of 1935, however, was the provision for the establishment of the Provincial Autonomy which came into operation soon after. Besides the nine Governors' provinces, two new provinces of Sindh and Orissa were created. In all these provinces an element of responsible Government was introduced by the creation of a Council of Ministers to advise the Governor in the discharge of his executive functions except those

relating to his special responsibilities. The Ministers were appointed from among the members of the Provincial Legislature to which they were responsible. The Governor was the head of the Provincial Executive and was responsible to the Governor-General and the Secretary of State in the discharge of his special responsibilities and matters in his discretion or individual judgment. But for all other matters of provincial administration he acted through his Ministers and was accountable to the Legislature.

Provincial Legislature.—There was a Provincial Legislature in every Province, which consisted of the Governor as the representative of His Majesty and of either one or two Chambers.

The Provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar and Assam had two Chambers, and the others one. The two Chambers were known as the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly.

The number of representatives differed from Province to Province and was based on the distribution of seats among various communities and interests. Separate electorates were provided for the Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. The details of the distribution were based upon the Communal Award issued by the Government and on the Poona Pact.

For the purpose of electing representatives to the Provincial Councils and Assemblies, each province was divided into territorial constituencies consisting of electors or voters. The franchise was conferred on 14 per cent of the total population of India, as compared with the 3 per cent who exercised the right under the Constitution of 1919.

The Judicature.—The Act provided for the establishment of a Federal Court, which consisted of a Chief Justice and a number of other Judges, appointed by His Majesty.

The Federal Court had jurisdiction in the following matters: (1) in any dispute between the Federation, and of the Provinces or any of the States; (2) in any appeal from any decision of a High Court, or a Province, or a State involving any constitutional question.

The jurisdiction of the other courts—the High Courts and the subordinate courts—was not altered, but some changes were made in regard to the manner of appointment of the Judges.

The Secretary of State.—The Act vested all authority in relation to the affairs of India in the Crown. The Secretary of

State for India was the responsible agent of the Crown for the exercise of this authority. The Governor-General and the Governors were responsible to the Secretary of State for the exercise of their special powers or when acting in their discretion. The Secretary of State was a member of the British Cabinet and of the Parliament of Great Britain to whom he was responsible for his actions. Under the old Constitution he had to consult on certain matters an advisory body known as the Council of India. The new Act dissolved this Council, but in its place authorised the Secretary of State to appoint from 3 to 6 advisers.

The Financial Administration.—The Act of 1919 completely separated the Imperial from Provincial finance. But both suffered more or less acutely from severe difficulties during this period. The expenditure, especially on the army, had increased enormously during the war. The revenue showed little sign of increase, as trade and industry were hit by the depression which followed the war as also by political movements. The result was that for five years (1919–24) the Government could not meet its expenses from its income, and had to borrow money at high rates of interest. At last it was compelled to revise its budget, to reduce its expenditure and increase taxation.

The next five years (1923–28) were somewhat easier, for the Government of India had surplus balances. The period from 1928 to 1935, however, was one of increasing difficulties. An unprecedented depression overtook the trade of the world and India suffered for years from its effects. The income of the Central Government declined on account of the fall of receipts from the different sources of revenue—customs, income-tax, railways, etc., and the income of the Provincial Governments went down because of the fall in land revenue. The Government tried to reduce its expenditure, but its difficulties remained acute.

Economic Conditions.—The finances of the Government depend largely on the economic condition of the people. India is predominantly an agricultural country. Her population indeed increased from 315 million (1921) to 351 million (1931), that is, by 10 per cent. But this increase was not a sign of prosperity, for ninety persons out of every hundred still lived in villages and had to depend on the produce of the soil. The increase in population increased the pressure on land and reduced the share of each person in the total produce. Poverty, therefore, still crushed the people, and disease and mortality levied a heavy

tribute. Nor was the condition of the middle classes and the dwellers in towns much better.

Agriculture.—The main sources of India's wealth are agriculture and industry. The Central Government made great efforts to improve agriculture. Its agricultural departments sought to introduce better crops, better implements and better methods of farming. The Provincial Governments undertook large schemes of irrigation works.

Industry.—The principal industries of India are textiles, jute and iron. They made slow but steady progress after 1919. The acceptance by the Government of the principle of protection for India's industries and the appointment of a Tariff Board helped in their growth. The protection granted to the sugar industry greatly stimulated its production in India. But the industries still played a minor part in the economic life of India.

Trade.—The trade of India fluctuated greatly during these years. Immediately after the war there was a sudden boom which was followed by a setback, from which she was gradually recovering when world conditions effected a catastrophic change, and then the sale of Indian produce declined rapidly.

Currency and Exchange.—India's principal currency is in silver. Until recent times the currency of Great Britain and most countries of the world was in gold. Up to 1917 the ratio between the silver rupee and the gold sovereign was as 15 to 1, i.e., the value of the Indian rupee was about 1s. 4d. During the war it rose to above 2s., but afterwards it again declined towards 1s. 4d. As the Government had to make purchases in England and to pay salaries and pensions there, it was important for it to have a stable rate of exchange, so that its expenditure would not fluctuate with the change in the rate. This rate greatly affected the merchants, manufacturers, and agriculturists of India also.

A commission presided over by Commander Hilton Young advised the Government to stabilise the value of the rupee at 1s. 6d., to bring the question of currency and credit under the rule of law, and to establish a Reserve Bank for the control of currency and credit. There was strong opposition to the suggested exchange ratio of the rupee, but after a stormy debate in the Assembly in 1927, the Government adopted the ratio of 1s. 6d. to the rupee.

In 1934, the Government established the Reserve Bank of India whose business was to issue bank notes, to maintain a reserve of funds in order to secure the stability of Indian finances, and to

operate the currency and credit system of the country.

Education and Local Self-Government.—The Reforms of 1919 recognised the principle of responsibility in the provinces, and a number of subjects were transferred to the control of the provincial legislatures. Among them the two most important were education and local self-government. So far as education was concerned, the Councils zealously promoted measures to advance education of all grades, and of both boys and girls, and the ministers took a bold initiative in developing these schemes of education.

In the sphere of Local Self-government too there was progress. The Municipal and District Boards were reconstituted on more popular lines and their powers were enhanced. But lack of experience, internal dissensions and financial difficulties, to some extent, hampered their work, and some of them proved inefficient.

Indianisation of Services.—Although the problem of transference of power from the hands of the British people into those of the people of India mainly occupied the attention of the Government, the question of replacing European officers by Indians in the services, so that this transference might become possible, was intimately connected with it, and during this period steps were taken to solve it. The services which the Government maintained were divided into two—Military and Civil.

The Army.—The Indian Army continued to consist of a number of units of the regular British forces and a number of units of the Indian forces. In the British forces the privates or ordinary soldiers and officers were all British. In the Indian forces the soldiers and the non-commissioned officers were Indian, but the commissioned officers belonged to two classes—those who held the Viceroy's Commission, and those who held the King's Commission. The first class of officers were inferior to the second and they were Indians. From 1917, when Indians first became eligible for the King's Commission, a small number were appointed every year to the eight units of the Army. But the progress of Indianisation was too slow and the desire of the Indians to take the responsibility for the defence of the country on their own shoulders was so keen, that the Government appointed a committee with Sir Andrew Skeen as President, to investigate the matter and make recommendations for improving the supply of Indian officers.

The committee made a report in April, 1927, but its recommendations were not accepted by the Government. In 1931, after

the First Round Table Conference, the Government announced a scheme for a more rapid extension of the Indian element in the Army.

The Civil Service.—In 1919, the Government had definitely laid down the percentage of Indians which should be recruited for the higher branches of the various services, and had decided to hold an examination for recruitment for the Indian Civil Service in India. In 1923, a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Lee recommended the employment of a larger percentages of Indians in these services. But this did not satisfy Indian public opinion. What made things worse was that the Commission increased the emoluments and privileges of the members of the services, and added to the cost of administration.

Under the Government of India Act of 1935 the Secretary of State was to continue to make the appointments to the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Medical Service, and the Indian Police Service. He would regulate the conditions of service, and protection against dismissal or punishment was provided by making the Governor and the Governor-General specially responsible for the security of the services.

(iii) The National Movement

The period inaugurated by the Reforms was a critical one in the recent history of India. It saw wave after wave of unrest pass over the country. The upheaval was not confined to the political field only, but affected every phase of national life, and stirred society to its depths. Its causes were both economic and political. Just after the war high prices and failure of rains combined to produce much distress. Later, the economic depression which overtook the world gave a severe blow to India's prosperity. The demand for India's agricultural and other products diminished, prices came down rapidly and the monetary returns for the crops fell low.

The cultivators were unable to pay rents according to the prevailing rates, and had little money to spend on the purchase of goods. The volume of trade decreased, the revenue of the Government declined and all classes of Indian society felt acute hardship. The labourers and the peasants suffered from lack of money and pressure of poverty, the educated middle class suffered from increasing unemployment, the merchants and business men from falling profits and uncertainty of trade, and

the landlords from loss in rent. Thus widespread distress prevailed.

Political causes added to the unrest. The war had lowered the prestige of the west and raised the self-respect of the eastern peoples. The declarations of the leaders of the victorious allies had aroused high expectations among the subject nations. The announcements of the British statesmen gave a strong impetus to the desire for self-determination. India was growing conscious of her national unity and aspired to the speedy attainment of Swaraj.

Unfortunately, the constitutional reforms introduced by the Government in 1919 did not satisfy the people, and its subsequent measures and policies created much doubt and despondency. The Muslim community was specially perturbed by the Treaty of the Allies with Turkey, which deprived her of her suzerainty over the holy lands of Islam. The era of reforms thus began in a tense atmosphere which grew worse from year to year.

The Political Parties.—In 1916, the split which had divided Indian political leaders was healed, and Liberals and Nationalists became united under one organisation. But, by 1920, the Nationalists had captured the organisation and from that time the Congress remained under their control. The Indian National Congress placed before the country progressively the goal of full Responsible Government, Dominion Status and *Purna Swaraj*. It advocated Satyagraha, non-violent, non-cooperation, and Civil Disobedience, as the methods for the attainment of the goal.



Mahatma Gandhi.

Among its leaders Mahatma Gandhi was undoubtedly the greatest. He combined

the qualities of a mediaeval saint and a modern national leader. He lived a life of utter self-renunciation with his gaze fixed on truth. He loved all men and wore himself out in the service of the poor and the humble. He knew no fear. His enthusiasm was boundless and he possessed tireless energy. In spite of his peculiar views on some social and economic problems, by virtue of the nobility of his character he won the respect and admiration of the world. He led the Congress and the country during the period, and endeavoured to achieve Swaraj by the method of self-purification and suffering.

The Liberals, who had kept the reins of the Congress in their hands from 1907 to 1916, soon found, after the admission of the Nationalists into the Congress in 1916, that they could not co-operate with them. The two parties differed fundamentally in their aims and methods, and, therefore, the Liberals organised the National Liberal Federation which first met in 1918, with Sir Surendranath Banerjea as the President. Although the following of the Liberals was small, they included some of the ablest Indian leaders, Sir Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. Srinivas Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru being the most notable.

The Muslim League which came into being in 1906 continued to stand aloof from the Congress. But, by 1916, it had adopted the Congress goal, and in that year it made a pact with the

Congress on the question of communal representation, which was embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919. The League exercised little influence from 1919 to 1924, as Muslim opinion was mainly guided by the Khilafat Committee during this period. In 1928, another Muslim organisation came into existence, which was known as the All-Parties Muslim Conference. The aim of the Conference was to obtain certain safeguards for the Muslim community in the future Indian Constitution, with the help of the British Government. The most important



Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

leader of the Muslim Conference was His Highness the Aga Khan, and that of the Muslim League Mr. Jinnah.

The Hindus and the Sikhs also established separate organisations, in order to introduce social reforms in their communities and to secure political privileges for them. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the most respected leader of the Hindus.

The Movement.—In the year 1919, before the introduction of the Reforms, the first wave of unrest and agitation broke upon the country. In the early part of 1919, the Government introduced two bills in the legislature to secure certain powers for the administration to deal with revolutionary crimes. They were known as the Rowlatt Bills. Their introduction aroused vehement opposition and when they were passed, in spite of many protests, Mahatma Gandhi started his campaign of Satyagraha against them. The movement spread rapidly all over the country and both Hindus and Muslims supported it. But as excitement grew, mobs committed violence in some places. Martial law was proclaimed in the Punjab, and fire was opened on a meeting at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, causing many deaths. In view of the disturbances Mahatma Gandhi suspended the movement. The Government appointed an enquiry committee and on receiving its report only censured the officer who had given the order to fire.

When the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1919 became known in India, the Liberals welcomed the Reforms and resolved upon working them in order to demonstrate India's fitness for greater responsibility, and to hasten the attainment of self-government. The Congress, however, regarded them as inadequate, disappointing and unsatisfactory. The people were not prepared to accept the advice of the Liberals and to work the Reforms. They were angry and resentful because of the brutalities of the Martial Law regime in the Punjab. Moreover, the Indian Muslims were troubled by the attitude of the victors towards Turkey, whose Sultan was the Caliph or the religious head of the Muslims.

In order to obtain redress for the Punjab, to secure the objects of the Muslims in regard to the Khilafat, and to attain Swaraj, Mahatma Gandhi urged the use of the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation. The Congress and the Khilafat Committee accepted the suggestion of Mahatma Gandhi. National volunteers were enrolled and the Tilak Swaraj Fund was collected to carry on the campaign.

The Satyagraha movement was weakened because although the Congress boycotted the elections to the legislatures, the

Liberals entered them. Indian ministers appointed in charge of the transferred departments co-operated with the Government which started action against the Congress leaders. This was followed by a great deal of excitement and turmoil. Riots and disturbances followed. The worst outbreak took place at Chauri-Chaura (Uttar Pradesh). Mahatma Gandhi was convinced that the atmosphere of non-violence which was necessary for the success of his campaign was wanting and he suspended it. Soon after he was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. On the Malabar Coast the Muslim community of the Moplahs, largely poor peasants, who were dissatisfied with the treatment of the landlords was goaded into violence, and attacked the Hindus. Arson, plunder and murders happened as a result. The Hindus were much annoyed. Their fears were further aroused when the news of the victories of Mustafa Kamal Pasha, the leader of the Turks, reached India. The Muslims were at the same time disturbed by his abolition of the office of *Khalifa* for which Indian Muslims were fighting the British Government. The Hindu-Muslim relations were strained and the chances of unity dimmed.

The Congress itself became divided on the question of entry into the Legislatures. One section, called the no-changers, opposed entry into the legislatures. The other section known as the Swarajya Party led by C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru advocated entry. In 1923, the newly-formed Swarajya Party contested the elections and although it did not obtain a majority in the Assembly, quite a number of its followers entered the legislature to offer organised opposition to the Government. They endeavoured to put pressure on the Government to introduce in India responsible government on the Dominion model, and succeeded in persuading it to appoint the Muddiman Committee in 1924. But its report did not lead to any important consequences. In 1927, however, the Home Government appointed the Commission, presided over by Sir John Simon, to enquire into the working of the Reforms and to suggest changes in the Constitution of India.

The years from 1922-28 were marked by savage outbursts of communal antagonism. Hindu-Muslim riots occurred in different parts of the country and they were accompanied by terrible atrocities. Many efforts were made to bring about reconciliation between the communities, but they failed.

The Simon Commission, which met with intense opposition, aroused hopes of a communal settlement; for the Congress, the

Liberals, the Muslim League and the Assembly united in refusing to co-operate with it, and the parties jointly appointed a committee, presided over by Motilal Nehru, to draw up a Constitution which would satisfy all communities. Unfortunately the Nehru Report did not receive a favourable response in the country.

The opposition to the Simon Commission, however, did not diminish, nor did communal bitterness abate. To relieve the tension Lord Irwin announced the intention of the Government to call a Round Table Conference of Indian leaders, representatives of the Government, and of Parliament, in order to draw up an agreed Constitution.

At this stage the Congress leaders announced that if India was not given Dominion Status within a year they would start a movement in favour of complete independence. In March, 1930, Mahatma Gandhi began the Civil Disobedience Campaign with a march from Ahmedabad to the sea coast where he broke the Salt Laws. The movement spread like wildfire, and thousands of persons went to gaol. Meanwhile the First Round Table Conference had met in London and achieved notable success. Before the gathering of the Second Round Table Conference Mahatma Gandhi had been released, and he had arrived at an agreement with Lord Irwin regarding the Civil Disobedience Campaign. He attended the Second Conference in London, but unfortunately his efforts to solve the communal problem failed and he returned to India dissatisfied. He was placed under arrest and the Congress activities were declared unlawful by the Government. The Third meeting of the Conference was held in 1932 and its conclusions were embodied in a White Paper.

They aroused a great deal of opposition in India. The proposals regarding the representation of the various communities were severely criticised. The transfer of authority was regarded as inadequate and the provisions concerning special responsibilities, safeguards and reservations were considered unsatisfactory.

The agitation in India, however, failed to produce any modification of the proposals embodied in the White Paper. Only the provisions concerning the representation of the Depressed Classes were modified as a result of the strong protest of Mahatma Gandhi, whose fast brought about an agreement—known as the Poona Pact—between the leaders of the Hindus and the Depressed Classes which was accepted by the British Government.

The White Paper was examined by the Joint Select Committee,

and on the basis of its recommendations Parliament placed the Government of India Act of 1935 on the Statute Book.

Although the period which began with the Reform Act of 1919, as the first step on the road to full Self-Government, ended in 1935 without the attainment of that goal, it marked a great and permanent advance towards it. There was a remarkable awakening in the country, the idea of Swaraj penetrated to its remotest corners, and every community accepted it as the natural goal of India's political aspirations. Political awakening brought with it a new sense of social justice, a desire to rectify old wrongs and to remove inequalities. It also aroused a higher sense of citizenship, of the rights which one may claim from the State, and of the duties which one ought to render to it.

Lord Willingdon finished his term of office in 1936. The next Viceroy was **Lord Linlithgow**. The Second World War started in 1939 and once more the peoples and princes of India were involved. Lord Linlithgow's term was twice extended on account of the war, and he finally relinquished office in 1943. He was succeeded by Field-Marshal **Lord Wavell**.

CHAPTER VIII

INDIA BECOMES INDEPENDENT, 1936-1947

Introductory

During the last years of British rule India passed through a period of great storm and stress. The Government of India Act, 1935, gave little satisfaction to Indian political parties and there was widespread agitation. But the Government met it with repression, and imposed the Act on an unwilling and protesting India.

The relations between the people and their rulers were further embittered when, without consulting the Indian Legislature, the Government dragged India into the Second World War. The war brought great hardships on the people. Food, clothing, in fact, every article of daily use, became scarce. But a stimulus was given to industrial production. War industries sprang up in almost all important towns, and the recruitment of able-bodied young men for the army reduced unemployment.

As the war proceeded and Japan entered it, India had to face fresh dangers. The collapse of Burma brought the menace of the Japanese invasion to her border, increasing the tension in the country. The unsympathetic attitude of the Government, and the feeling of helplessness, exasperated the people. The Congress warned the Government, but without evoking any response. On August 9, 1942, the Congress Working Committee called upon the British to 'quit India'. The Government arrested all the Congress leaders who had gathered at Bombay. This harsh measure roused the anger of the people, and the movement took an ugly shape. The Government resorted to force and attempted to suppress it with violence. Meanwhile the war continued, Bengal suffered a terrible famine (1943), and discontent increased.

(i) External Relations

India has always been vitally concerned in political developments in the neighbouring countries. But as a dependency of the British she could not pursue any independent line of action in her relations with these countries. Her policy was not her own. It was dictated from London, and as such, it was essentially in the interests of the British.

The countries on the borders of India were affected by the war.

In the North-Western tribal area, the Wazirs and Mahsuds had remained more or less peaceful until 1936, but such conditions were not destined to last very long. The Faqir of Ipi suddenly gained popularity and prestige among the tribesmen, and excited their communal passions by his speeches and deeds. On the issue of the ownership of the Shahidganj Mosque at Lahore he declared a holy war, and the Government of India was compelled to undertake military operations on a large scale to suppress the disturbance. As a precaution against the recurrence of the disturbance, the Government also laid out 106 miles of new roads across these rugged and inhospitable regions to facilitate military operations.

Conditions in Afghanistan were much more satisfactory after the accession in 1933 of her present king Muhammad Zahir Shah. He has a reputation for courage and sagacity. By pursuing the policy of his father in matters of state, he had generally endeared himself to his subjects, and at the same time strengthened his position. There had been no untoward event during his reign, and his government followed a policy of peace within and friendliness abroad. In 1938, the Government of Afghanistan, in pursuit of this policy, negotiated a trade agreement with India.

Farther away, Central Asia was passing through a period of transition. Her social and cultural life was being organised on the Russian pattern. When Russia came into conflict with Germany during the Second World War, all danger to India from this side seemed to have disappeared, although the German invasion of Russia continued to create apprehensions for many months.

India's relations with China had long been friendly. Both the Government and the people of India had long desired the peace and prosperity of the Chinese. Indian sympathy towards China greatly increased when, in 1937, Japan made an unprovoked attack upon the country. The heroic resistance which the Chinese put up aroused the world's admiration, and in order to help China the Indian Government laid out a great direct high road which connected India with China. The Indian National Congress sent a Medical Mission and Jawaharlal Nehru himself accompanied it. Nationalist China's leader, Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek, also paid a visit to India accompanied by his wife. China was saved from subjection by the defeat of the Japanese in 1945.

India's relations with Tibet were friendly throughout. The Dalai Lama died in 1933. His successor was installed in 1939.

The World War had no direct effect on Tibet, but the country was afterwards forced to accept Chinese suzerainty.

Burma was separated from India in 1937. For several years thereafter anti-Indian feeling prevailed in the country. Many riots took place in which Indian settlers in Burma suffered losses. In 1942, the Japanese army occupied Burma, and the country remained under occupation for nearly three years. During this period the Japanese threatened the Indian frontier. Early in 1945, the Allied forces made an advance into Burma and compelled the Japanese to surrender in August. By October 1945, Civil administration was re-established in the whole of Burma, and the country became fully independent in 1948.

India and the Second World War.—From 1933 to 1939, Germany under Hitler marched from strength to strength. Hitler first annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia, and then invaded Poland in September 1939. At the same time Italy, under its dictator Mussolini, established dominion in North Africa. The two together threatened the empires of Britain and France; and after much hesitation the two Governments were compelled to declare war on September 3, 1939. But the might of Germany's military machine carried everything before it at first. France had to admit defeat, and England found herself in jeopardy. Flushed with success Hitler turned to the east, annexed the Baltic States and invaded Russia in June 1941. Japan threw in its lot with the conqueror and declared war upon America and Britain. The Japanese forces rapidly overran the whole of South-East Asia.

When the war began in 1939, India, whose sympathies were with the democratic powers and did not favour the autocracies of Germany and Italy, naturally expected that her leaders would be consulted by the British rulers and that India would be given an opportunity of declaring her will freely on the war. Instead, the Viceroy treated India as a mere subject nation and regarded her participation in the war as following automatically on Britain's. This deeply hurt our national pride. India became an unwilling camp-follower. She was forced to give her men and wealth. The British were in control and they demanded all the help that India could give them, straining her resources and leaving her exhausted. Indian soldiers fought in every theatre of war, side by side with the Allied soldiers, in Italy, France, Sudan, Somaliland, Eritrea, Syria, Iraq, Hongkong, Burma, Borneo, Malaya and Singapore, and their bravery extorted praise from all. Her

material contribution was on an equally impressive scale, for she supplied the bulk of stores to the eastern theatres of war.

(ii) Internal Development: Constitutional

Lord Linlithgow, 1936–43.—The Government of India Act, 1935, which aroused great opposition in this country, was brought into force in 1937 by **Lord Linlithgow**, who had succeeded Lord Willingdon as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, in 1936. Lord Linlithgow was a religious man and a lover of peace. He was deeply interested in agriculture and cattle-breeding. Unfortunately, he had to spend much of his time and energy on political matters in this country, and was called upon to thrust the Government of India Act, 1935, upon an unwilling people.

The Act introduced Provincial Autonomy in eleven provinces. The Congress resolved to contest the elections, and won an absolute majority in the Province of Madras, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. In the Provinces of Bombay and the North-West Frontier, Bengal and Assam, it emerged as the biggest single party. The success of the Congress had one unfortunate result. It antagonised the Muslim League. Efforts had been made, before the elections were held, to arrive at an understanding with the Muslim League, but they proved unsuccessful. When the Legislatures were formed, the Congress as representative of the majority was offered ministerial office. After some hesitation, on the assurance of the Governor-General that the Governor would not interfere in the day-to-day administration of the Province, the Congress accepted office in the seven Provinces of Bombay, Madras, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province. In 1938, it joined with other parties to form coalition ministries in Sind and Assam.

In September 1939, Hitler plunged Europe into the throes of the the Second World War. The Government of India also declared war on Germany and her allies. As this was done without consulting the people of India, the Congress resented the decision.

Soon afterwards the British Cabinet changed. Mr. Winston Churchill became the head of the War Cabinet, and Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India. Under their direction, Lord Linlithgow announced his 'August Offer' on August 8, 1940. In this offer the Indian Minorities were assured that the British Government would not transfer authority without their consent.

This strengthened the resolve of the Muslim League to make no compromise with the Congress.

Meanwhile, the Government's anxieties were greatly increased as a result of the successes of the Japanese arms in South-East Asia. The British Government was compelled to secure the goodwill of the people and, therefore, to come to terms with the Congress which represented the vast masses of India. Accordingly, in March, 1942, the Government sent Sir Stafford Cripps, who was a member of the Cabinet, and was well-known for his liberal views and his friendly relations with the Indian national leaders, to enlist the cooperation of the Congress. He told India that the British Government were willing to accept the demand of the Congress that an elected constitution-making body should be set up to devise a free Constitution for the country. But with regard to immediate changes in the Indian Government no settlement satisfactory to India was reached. In spite of their desire to cooperate with the British, it was impossible to accept the offer which gave no immediate power to India to help the war effort as a free and willing partner. Consequently, the Cripps Mission failed. India was left in a restless and unhappy mood. The Congress was forced to oppose the Government which scorned the people's will; and the only course left for a self-respecting nation was to raise the cry of 'Quit India'. The Government's response was the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and all the leading Congressmen in August, 1942.

At this moment the military situation was assuming an ugly shape. In Europe, the fortunes of the Allies were still at a low ebb. In the east, Burma was occupied by the Japanese. The British turned Bengal into a camp, requisitioned buildings, seized the paddy fields and commandeered the boats on the river. The whole of Bengal was plunged into distress, and hatred against the Government was set ablaze. Nationalist India accordingly determined to follow the leaders' advice to 'do or die'. In the absence of the restraining influence of Mahatma Gandhi, a violent movement gripped the country from one end to the other. Numerous railway stations and post offices were destroyed, and many policemen and officials were killed. Thousands of Congressmen were thrown into prison, and many suffered confiscation of property.

Lord Wavell, 1943-47.—Lord Linlithgow retired in October, 1943. He was succeeded by Field-Marshal Lord Wavell as Viceroy and Governor-General of India. Lord Wavell was a

seasoned soldier of great repute with a brilliant military career. He was well acquainted with Indian life and conditions, for he had served as Commander-in-Chief. Soon after he assumed office, the war situation changed and the defeat of Germany and her allies appeared likely.

As the prospects of the United Nations improved and victory became assured, the British Government modified its policy towards India. In order to placate Indian opinion, on June 14, 1945, Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, announced in the House of Commons that the Governor-General's Executive Council would be reconstituted, and all members of the new Council, excluding the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, would be Indians. This change in policy was accompanied by the release of all the members of the Congress Working Committee. The Congress and the Muslim League were asked to draw up a list of persons who should be included in the proposed Executive Council. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Indian National Congress, submitted a list which included representatives of the Congress, both Hindus and Muslims. But Mr. Jinnah objected to the inclusion of any Muslims other than the League representatives.

Labour Party Government in Britain.—When the war ended in Europe, a general election was held in Britain in 1945. The Conservative Party suffered a reverse, and the victorious Labour Party formed a Government under the leadership of Mr. Clement Attlee. The new Government was faced with enormous difficulties and grave dangers at home and abroad. Economically Britain was drifting towards bankruptcy. Feeling in India was deeply antagonistic to British rule. Even the loyalty of the Indian soldier, once the chief support of the Government, became doubtful. The revolt of a section of soldiers led by Subhas Chandra Bose, who organised an Indian National Army made up of prisoners of war in Japanese hands, served as an eye-opener. In view of the situation, the Labour Government wisely decided to transfer power into Indian hands. New elections were ordered and, in 1945-46, the Congress captured almost all the non-Muslim seats in all the Provinces, the majority of Muslim seats in the North-West Frontier Province and some Muslim seats in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar and Assam. The Congress, as the result of these elections, assumed office in all Provinces except Sind and Bengal.

In March 1946, the British Government sent out a Mission

consisting of three Cabinet Ministers, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander. They came to India in order to find a final solution for her constitutional problems. They held prolonged discussions with different parties and leaders. But, unfortunately, the Congress and the League differences could not be reconciled, and the Mission was obliged to give its own decision on the disputed matters.

After a great deal of discussion and hesitation this plan was accepted by all parties, and the elections for the Constituent Assembly were held.



Jawaharlal Nehru.

An Interim Government was formed on September 2, 1946, with Jawaharlal Nehru as the Vice-President, and soon after, as a result of negotiations with Lord Wavell, the Muslim League also agreed to join it. The expectation that by working together in the Interim Government, Congress and League misunderstandings would be removed was not fulfilled. Therefore, Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister of Britain, made an important statement on February 20, 1947, in which he declared that the British Government had finally

decided to transfer power to responsible Indians, before June 1948, even though it might require the partition of the country.

Lord Mountbatten, 1947.—Lord Wavell now retired, and Lord Mountbatten succeeded as Viceroy and Governor-General of India. As Supreme Allied Commander in South-East Asia during the war, he had become well acquainted with Indian conditions. So, immediately on assuming the reins of office, he had to make arrangements with the leaders of the Congress and the League for the transfer of power to Indian hands. Unfortunately the last stages of the transfer were marked by savage outbursts



Lord Mountbatten.

of communal feelings, which necessitated an immediate settlement of the constitutional issues.

(iii) **Free India**

On June 3, 1947, Lord Mountbatten announced his scheme, which was agreed to by both the Congress and the Muslim League. This scheme was embodied in the Indian Independence Act, 1947. Its most important provisions were:—

- (1) that India should be partitioned into the two independent and sovereign states of 'India' and 'Pakistan' with effect from August 15, 1947.
- (2) that the British Government should cease from that date to be responsible for the administration of India, and that no law passed by the British Parliament should apply to either of the two Dominions, and
- (3) that a Boundary Commission should determine the frontiers of the two Dominions.

INDEPENDENT INDIA, 1947-67

India became independent on 15th August, 1947 and a dream which we had entertained for many years at last became a reality. Unfortunately the rejoicings of the people were mingled with much sorrow. During the last ten years of the struggle for freedom many patriotic Indians had suffered from British persecution. But these were borne cheerfully. What caused much greater pain and sorrow was the growing bitterness between the Hindus and Muslims. This led to riots in which many lives were lost and great damage was done. Immediately before the transfer of power the communal strife took an extremely ugly turn, and in spite of the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues the fire of hatred spread into a number of provinces, especially in the Punjab and Bengal.

The partition led to mass migrations of the Hindus from these two provinces into India and of the Muslims into Pakistan. The refugees who came in thousands created difficult problems of settlement and rehabilitation for the Indian government and the people. Jawaharlal Nehru and his government made great efforts to relieve the suffering. Mahatma Gandhi did his utmost to promote friendly relations and to bring peace. His noble efforts, however, roused the evil passions of some fanatics.

On January 30, 1948, India suffered the loss of her foremost leader, the father of Indian freedom. Mahatma Gandhi's

death was an irreparable loss to the nation. He held a unique position in the hearts of his countrymen, and was revered all over the world as a great spiritual leader. He treated Indians, to whatever creed or caste they belonged, as equal sons of the motherland. He worked for the uplift of the poor, the oppressed, and the outcaste. His life was guided by the principle of *Satya* (truth) and *Ahimsa* (non-violence). He dedicated himself to freeing India from the yoke of foreign rule, and he inspired her people with the spirit of courage and sacrifice for the nation. As a result of his great work India became free, but he fell a prey to the fanaticism of a narrow-minded Hindu, who shot him at his prayer meeting in New Delhi. Gandhiji has passed away, but his spirit will live for ever.

The history of the first twenty years of independence is a record of the activities of the government which was supported by the Congress party.

Among its achievements the most remarkable was framing the Indian Constitution. In the internal administration of the country its policies and measures were directed towards promoting welfare, development of agriculture and industries, reorganising the states, spreading education and improving health and other conditions of life. The task before the Government was stupendous. Its efforts have achieved much success in meeting the problems of poverty, unity and education, but a great deal remains to be done.

(i) Constitution

The elected representatives of India formed a constituent Assembly to prepare the Constitution of India. This Constitution came in force on 26th January, 1950. It has been amended twenty-one times in the last 20 years.

The Indian Constitution is a large document. It begins with the declaration that the people of India have constituted India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic in order to secure to all its citizens justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. It defines the fundamental rights of the citizens of India by means of which the aims of the Constitution may be realised. It also lays down the directive principles which ought to guide the State in its policies.

The Constitution contains provisions for the performance of the different functions of the State—executive, legislative and judicial. It also specifies the powers and responsibilities of the Central and the State governments. It prescribes the procedure for the amendment of the Constitution. The Indian Constitution

is certainly one of the most liberal constitutions in the world. It has limited the powers of the executive and the legislature.

India is a Union of States comprising 17 States and 10 Union Territories. Each State is administered by a Governor appointed by the President of India for a term of five years; each Union territory is administered by the President of India through an administrator appointed by him. The following are the 17 States and 10 Union territories.

States.—Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Mysore, Nagaland, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

Union Territories.—Andaman and Nicobar Islands; Dadra and Nagar Haveli; Delhi; Goa, Daman and Diu; Himachal Pradesh; Laccadive group of islands; Manipur; Pondicherry; Tripura and North-east Frontier Agency.

The President (*Rashtrapati*)

The head of the Republic of India is the President. All executive power is formally vested in him, and is exercised on the advice of the Minister responsible to Parliament.

The President (*Rashtrapati*) is elected by an Electoral College which consists of all the elected members of Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies of the States. He holds office for 5 years and can be re-elected. He can be removed from office by impeachment if he violates the Constitution.



Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
the first President of India.

If a President (*Rashtrapati*) dies, or resigns before the usual term of five years he will be succeeded by the Vice-President (*Upa-Rashtrapati*) till the new President is elected.

Shri C. Rajagopalachari was the Governor-General till the first President was elected.

The first President (*Rashtrapati*) of the Republic was Dr. Rajendra Prasad (1950-62). The second President was Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan (1962-67) and the third was Dr. Zakir Husain (1967-69). After the death of the third president in May 1969, Dr. V. V. Giri has been elected the fourth President.

There is also a Vice-President (*Upa-Rashtrapati*) who is elected by the two houses of Parliament (*Rajya Sabha* and *Lok Sabha*). He is *ex-officio* Chairman of the *Rajya Sabha* (Upper House of Parliament or the Council of States).

The first Vice-President (*Upa-Rashtrapati*) was Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the second was Dr. Zakir Husain, the third was Dr. V. V. Giri, and after Dr. V. V. Giri has been elected as the fourth President, Dr. G. S. Pathak has now been elected as the fourth Vice-President.

Central Legislature (*Samsad*)

The Parliament (*Samsad*) for the Union consists of the President (*Rashtrapati*), the Council of States and the House of the People (*Lok Sabha*). The *Rajya Sabha* (Council of States) consists of not more than 250 members; in 1967 there were 228 elected members and 12 members nominated by the *Rashtrapati*. The election of members of the *Rajya Sabha* is indirect, that is to say that each elected member is elected by the elected members of each State Assembly (*Vidhan Sabha*). The *Rajya Sabha* is a permanent body which cannot be dissolved; but one-third of the members retire every second year.

The *Lok Sabha* or the House of the People consists of not more than 500 members, who are elected by the direct vote of the adult voters of the constituencies. Not more than 25 members represent the 10 Union territories in the *Lok Sabha*. They are chosen according to the manner decided upon by Parliament (*Samsad*). The life of the *Lok Sabha* is normally 5 years, but it can be dissolved earlier. In 1967 there were 520 elected members and 3 nominated by the President.

State Legislature (*Vidhan Mandal*)

For every State there is a legislature (*Vidhan Mandal*) which consists of two houses—the Legislative Assembly (*Vidhan Sabha*) and the Legislative Council (*Vidhan Parishad*), and is headed by a Governor (*Rajyapal*). There are two houses in the States of

Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Mysore, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir, but there is only one house in the States of Assam, Gujarat, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Nagaland, Orissa and Rajasthan.

The life of every Legislative Assembly (*Vidhan Sabha*) is five years unless dissolved earlier. But the Legislative Council (*Rajya Parishad*) is permanent and is not subject to dissolution. One-third of its members retire every year.

Legislation

The constitution has mentioned three lists of the subjects of legislation. List I (Union List) consists of 97 subjects, the important being defence, foreign affairs, communications, currency and coinage, banking and customs, and Parliament (*Samsad*) has exclusive power to make laws with respect to the 97 subjects. The State legislature, on the other hand, has exclusive power to make laws with respect to 66 subjects, chief of which are police and public order, agriculture and irrigation, education, public health and local government. But there are 47 other subjects, the chief being economic and social planning; legal questions; labour and price control; powers to make laws with respect to these subjects are held by both the Union and State governments. For subjects, which may assume national importance during emergencies like war, drought, famine, epidemics, etc., laws can be made by the Union Parliament (*Samsad*).

Citizenship.—Every person who is born within the Indian Union, of Indian parents, or had been residing here for 5 years continuously before 26th January 1950, is a citizen of the Republic of India. Those who come or may come from Pakistan and those Indians who reside in other countries may also be treated as citizens in terms of the Citizenship Act of 1955.

Language.—The Constitution provides that the official language of the Republic shall be Hindi in the Devanagiri script, but English may be used for official purposes. The Government recognises 15 languages as official languages which are in the official use of the various States and Union Territories. They are Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, Gujarati, Urdu, Assamese, Sindhi, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Kashmiri and Sanskrit. In each of these languages All-India and State Radio Stations transmit their programmes, and it has been proposed to impart primary, secondary and higher education in these languages in the respective states.

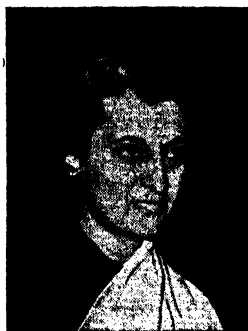
Government.—The President of the Republic (*Rashtrapati*) is aided and advised in the exercise of his functions, by a Council of Ministers, consisting of the members of the Cabinet, Ministers of State who are not members of the Cabinet, and Deputy Ministers.

The Prime Minister is the leader of the ruling party and has general control over all the ministries of Government. He appoints the ministers and allots to them their duties.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru continued to be the Prime Minister till 27th May 1964, when he died. He was succeeded by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who continued as Prime Minister till January 12,



Lal Bahadur Shastri.



Indira Gandhi.

1966 when he passed away in Tashkent (USSR). The present Prime Minister is Shrimati Indira Gandhi who took office in February 1966 and was reappointed Prime Minister after the General Elections of 1967.

The number of ministers is not fixed, but the Ministry ordinarily consists of a little over 50 members. There are four ranks among them:

- (1) Cabinet Ministers,
- (2) Ministers,
- (3) Ministers of State,
- (4) Deputy Ministers.

Among them four Cabinet Ministers are regarded specially important. They are: (1) The Finance Minister, (2) The Minister for Home Affairs, (3) The Defence Minister and (4) The Minister for External Affairs.

The Judiciary.—The Supreme Court is the highest judicial authority in the country. It is independent of the executive Government. The judges are appointed by the President of

India, but their services cannot be transferred or terminated by the Government.

Its jurisdiction is very extensive. It can declare a law passed by the Parliament as invalid if it is held contrary to the provisions of the Constitution. It can also strike down particular measures of the Ministries for breach of the Constitution. It is authorized to decide cases of dispute between the States.

The Supreme Court is the guardian of the fundamental rights of the citizens, e.g., freedom of speech, freedom of association, choice of occupation, freedom of religious belief and practice and freedom from discrimination on the ground of sex, caste, community or colour.

Party System.—In all democratic countries parties are organised to guide and educate the electors and to fight the elections. The parties draw up their programmes and policies which indicate how they would conduct the government if they obtain the majority in the legislature.

Till 1947, there was really one important party in the country, namely, the Indian National Congress. There were a few small groups within the Congress which differed from the main body in regard to some social and economic matters. After independence these groups began to form independent parties. In the elections of 1952, 1957, 1962 the Congress Party won majorities both in the Central and State Legislatures. But by 1967 the long domination of the Congress Party was successfully challenged. Roughly three types of parties were formed. The Congress still retained its dominating position at the Centre and in some States—Maharashtra, Gujarat, Andhra and Mysore. But it failed to command a majority in the Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa. In Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, its position was precarious and ultimately it was ousted from power in Madhya Pradesh.

The second group of parties consisted of people holding conservative views—the two important parties of this group were Jan Sangh and Swatantra.

The third group included politicians of advanced views. They were mostly advocates of a socialist system of society. The most extreme among them were the Communists, who were later divided into several factions. The others were Praja Socialists and Samyukta Socialists.

Some new parties have arisen since the elections of 1967. They have been formed by politicians who have broken with the Cong-

ress or other parties. The Bhartiya Kranti Dal (B.K.D.) of Uttar Pradesh has won a large number of seats in the election of 1969. In West Bengal the Communists are the largest party and in combination with some other groups they enjoy a majority in the Legislature. Similarly in Kerala the party in power consists of the Communists and a few others. In Tamil Nadu (earlier known as Madras), the party known as Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K.) commands the majority in the Legislature and holds the reigns of government.

In 1947, there were 552 small and large states in India. They occupied about a third of the area and included a fourth of the population of the country. When the British declared India independent they did neither transfer their paramountcy over the states to the independent Indian Government nor declare the states individually independent. But their integration with independent India was politically essential. At the time while some states manifested hesitation in acceding to India, others agreed to merge with India. Two large states—Hyderabad and Kashmir, however, remained aloof.

The task of integrating the states with the Indian Union was accomplished successfully by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who was the member of the interim government in charge of the States Department. He succeeded in persuading them—with the exception of Hyderabad and Kashmir, to integrate with the Union.

In Hyderabad the Nizam hesitated to join the Indian Union. He fell under the influence of a fanatical group—the *Razakars*—who entertained wild schemes regarding the future of the State, and were strongly opposed to India. Negotiations proved useless, the State became a prey to unrest and internal strife, and panic began to spread to neighbouring districts. It was impossible to wait, and the Government of India, therefore, resolved upon police action. On 13th September, 1948, the Indian forces marched in, brushed aside the *Razakars* and the army of the Nizam and entered Hyderabad. The Nizam ordered a cease-fire and the State acceded to India. The Nizam was appointed the first *Rajpramukh* (Governor) of the State. An elected legislature and a popular ministry took over the government.

The case of Kashmir was quite different. It is strategically situated on the borders of USSR, China, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Among its people 70% were Muslims. Pakistan claimed Kashmir on the ground that the majority of its

population was Muslim, although Pakistan and India had agreed that the accession of a State should depend on the decision of the ruler, in this case the *Maharajah*. The *Maharajah* was indecisive and entered into a Standstill Agreement with both Pakistan and India. But soon the Pakistan Government began to exercise pressure in order to compel him to accede to Pakistan. All necessities of life—salt, tea, petrol, foodstuffs which used to be carried to the state by lorries from Rawalpindi, were stopped, and the state was brought to a point of near-starvation. The armed frontier tribesmen, abetted and aided by Pakistan, invaded Kashmir in October, 1947, through Hazara and by the Jhelum Valley Road. They marched towards Srinagar, killing people, burning and looting villages and towns on the way. The *Maharajah* was compelled to escape to Jammu for safety. He, thereupon, asked for help from the Indian Government and pressed for the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to the Indian Union. When the deed of accession was ratified, Indian troops were flown to Kashmir. Srinagar was saved and the raiders were driven out of the valley, although portions of the southern fringe and north-western territories remained under the occupation of Pakistan. Popular government under the leadership of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, the National Conference leader, was established in the State, the old *Maharajah* abdicated, and the monarchy was abolished.

But Pakistan refused to accept the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union and to vacate the part of the State which it had occupied. This compelled India to take her case before the Security Council of the United Nations in 1948. The Security Council appointed a Commission which arranged a cease-fire between India and Pakistan. Unfortunately Pakistan did not comply with the conditions laid down by the Commission for the settlement, with the result that no decision has been arrived at finally, and the relations between Pakistan and India have remained strained. On September 5, 1965 Pakistan launched a major attack on India without declaring war. The Indian army repulsed the attack. Two major attacks on Kashmir were also defeated. The government and people of Kashmir fully cooperated with the Indian Army in frustrating Pakistani efforts.

The French and the Portuguese held some territories on the east and west coast of India. France possessed Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Chandernagore. The French Government agreed to withdraw in a peaceful way from all these possessions

**INDIA AND PAKISTAN
POLITICAL**

Scale: 100 0 100 300 500 700 900 1100 Kilometres

REFERENCES
 Boundaries (INTERNATIONALS)
 INDIA
 PAKISTAN
 OTHER
 STATE
 DUNE: DADRA & NAGAR HAVEL
 GOA
 SIKHIM
 NAGALAND
 TRIPURA

Age Group	Number of people
13-17	100
18-24	200
25-34	300
35-44	400
45-54	500
55-64	600
65-74	700
75-84	800
85+	900

Kilometres

REFERENCES

Boundaries (INTERNATIONAL)

AM

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI

**GOA, DAMAN & DIU
SIKISM**

**NAGALAND
TRIPURA**

10

in an atmosphere of friendliness. But the Portuguese attitude was hostile. Their possessions were Goa, Daman and Diu, and they refused to quit. What is worse the Portuguese Government treated the freedom fighters of these enclaves ruthlessly. When negotiations failed the Government of India was compelled to take police action in Goa in December 1961. The Portuguese forces were driven out, and Goa, Daman and Diu were formed into a centrally administered state under a Lieutenant-Governor.

(ii) Reorganisation of States

Under British rule the directly administered territory was divided into 9 provinces. But the Congress had committed itself to reorganise them on the basis of the languages spoken by the majority of the people in each. The people of Andhra who spoke Telugu demanded reorganisation. After some hesitation circumstances compelled the Government to agree to the formation of the Andhra State in 1953.

This concession led to the general question of reorganisation. The Government of India appointed the States Reorganisation Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Fazl Ali to make enquiries and report. The Commission's recommendations led to the redistribution of the provinces and states on the linguistic basis.

But the State of Punjab continued to comprise both the Punjabi-speaking and the Hindi-speaking people. The people speaking the two languages also clamoured for separation with the result that the Punjab State had to be divided into the State of Punjab and the State of Haryana in 1966.

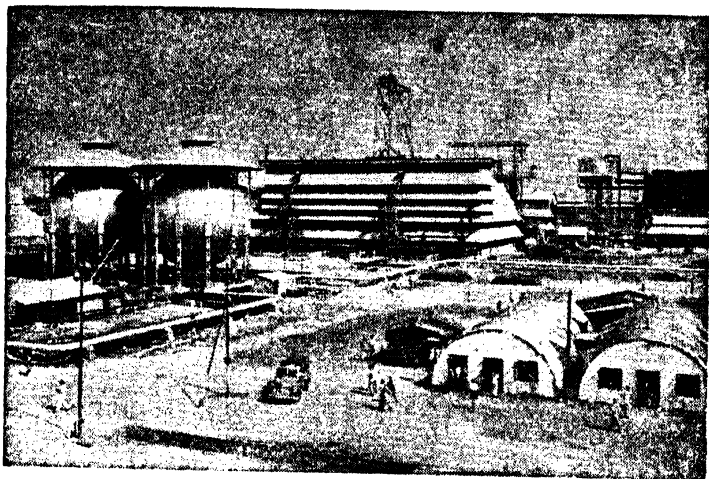
As a result of this linguistic redistribution of States there are now 17 States and 10 Union territories in India.

(iii) Internal Development

Economic and Industrial Development.—Jawaharlal Nehru believed that India's economic advancement rested in her industrial development. During his Prime-Ministership (1947–64), he formulated the policy of establishing industry on a large-scale and increasing production in order to raise the living standard of the people and to remove poverty. For industrial development the policy of planning was adopted. Thus the home manufactures received great impetus during the period 1948–67. For example, the Government undertook the manufacture at Chittaranjan (West Bengal) of railway engines, at

Sindri fertilizers, at Bangalore and Kanpur telephones, watches and aeroplanes, at Rourkela, Durgapur, Bhilai and other places iron and steel, electric goods at Bhopal and heavy machines at Ranchi.

Industries.—The most important old industries of India are—(1) agriculture and (2) weaving of cotton, jute and woollen cloth. Other important industries are silk-rearing and weaving, shawl



Sindri Fertilizer Plant.

and carpet weaving, wood carving, metal-working, gold and silver brocade (embroidery), manufacture of gold and silver ornaments, and paper-making. But since independence some new industries have been started and some old ones expanded. Among the new industries some have been established and financed by the Government, and the others by individuals or companies. The first constitute the public sector and the second the private sector of industry.

The important enterprises in the public sector include iron and steel, coal, railways, aeroplanes, shipping, armaments and others. To the private sector belong some iron and steel manufacture, coal mining, aluminium, sugar, textiles, etc.

In the sector of industry maintained by private companies many industrialists are engaged in producing manufactured articles like textiles, cars, chemicals, etc. India is also mining metals and petrol.

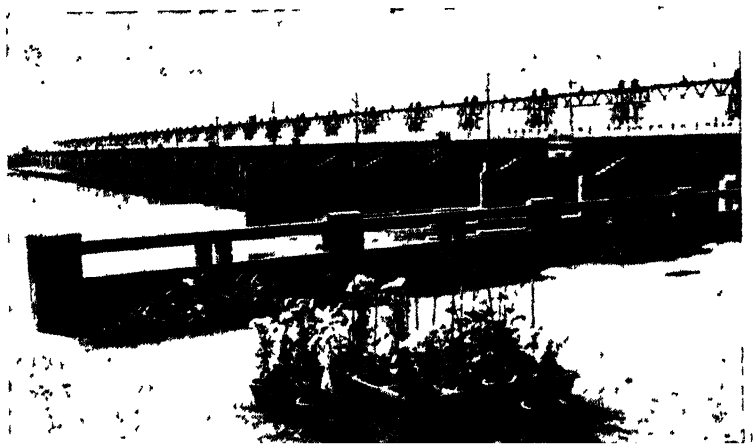
On the whole the policy of the Government of India has the

*Photo P. I. B*

The Hirakud Dam

object of expanding and developing the country's industries and encouraging a socialist pattern of society.

Food and Agriculture.—India's chief industry has always been agriculture. About 70% of the people work on land for their livelihood. To encourage agricultural output, mainly foodgrains, the Government has been doing much. Many large irrigation projects were undertaken, the most important being Bhakra Nangal (Punjab), Hirakud (Orissa), Damodar Valley (Bihar), Nagarjunakonda-Sagar (Andhra Pradesh),



D. V. C. Barrage, Durgapur.

Tungabhadra (Andhra Pradesh and Mysore), Koyna (Maharashtra), Rihand (Uttar Pradesh) and Chambal (Rajasthan—Madhya Pradesh).

The Indian Council for Agricultural Research, established in 1929, and attached to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, has been co-ordinating agricultural research and production. There is now a network of agricultural research centres in the country.

Land Tenure.—India has had three main systems of land tenure, namely, *Ryotwari* tenure, *Zamindari* tenure and *Mahalwari* tenure. But since 1948, the Government has initiated and introduced agricultural reforms. Our Constitution lays stress on the equality of citizens, therefore, the abolition of intermediaries or *Zamindaris* was undertaken. Other measures for improvement were reduction of rents, consolidation of holdings and prevention of fragmentation of holdings, promotion of farming by cooperative village management and others.

Community Development and the Cooperative Movement.—India has thousands of villages. Most of them are still cut off from the effects of modern civilisation. The villagers pursue more or less the same occupations as their ancestors. Progress in India, therefore, was incomplete without bringing about gradual development of the villages giving them the advantages of electricity, modern appliances of agriculture and facilities of transport. The Government created a separate Ministry of Community Development, and on the birthday of Gandhiji, 2nd October 1952, launched the community development programme. Each village has a development plan for expansion and development of agricultural production, arts and crafts, health, education, recreational facilities, etc. Development Bloc Officers are required to be in close touch with their respective villages to ensure attention to and development of the life and modes of production among the villagers. The Development Blocs keep in touch with the cooperative societies.

Commerce.—The Government of India has also given special attention to the expansion of both export and import trade with other countries, and has established for this purpose a Board to promote exports.

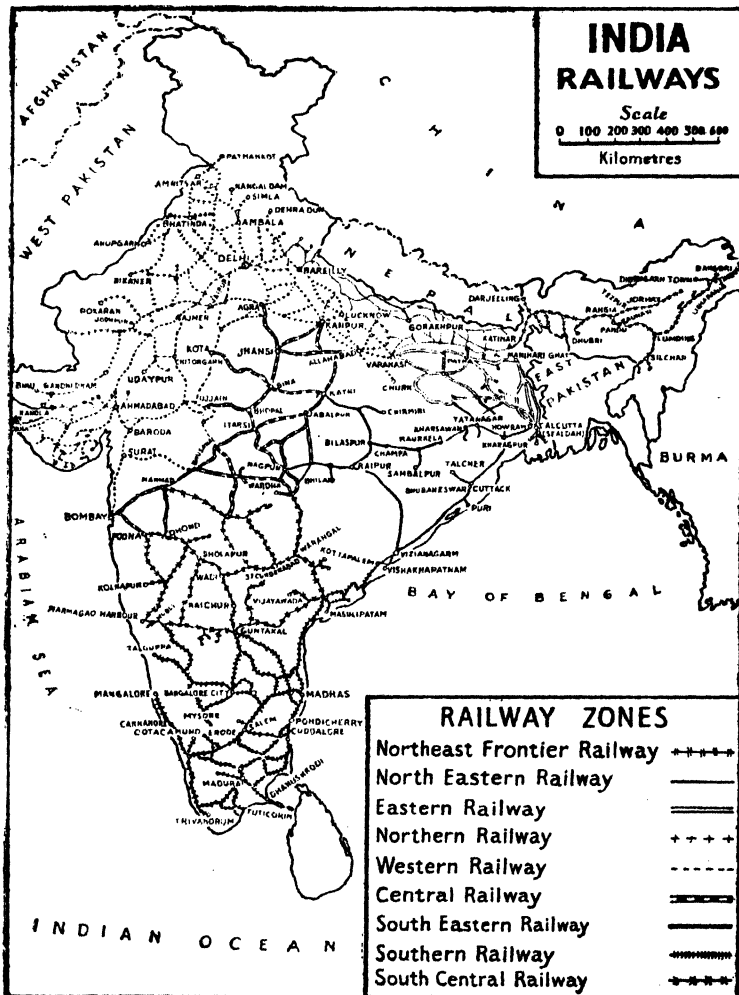
The State Trading Corporation was established to encourage foreign trade.

Communications.—India has all the modern means of communication for internal and external traffic, namely, railways, aeroplanes, automobiles, besides her ancient means. For external

communication shipping continues to enjoy popularity but aeroplanes are becoming increasingly common for quick travel. There are Indian air-services for travel both in India and abroad.

The Indian railways are now the property of the State and are managed by the Government. The country is divided into nine zones for purposes of administration.

In ancient times India manufactured its own ships. But under British rule the industry died out. Since independence, however,



efforts have been made to establish dockyards for building ships, e.g., at Vishakhapatnam.

Air travel and transport has received a great deal of attention. The requirements of both the civil and military sides have been on the increase. Most of the civilian air transport within India and outside and all the military transport is under Government control. The industry of aeroplane manufacture has also been established and several types of aeroplanes are manufactured for civil and military use.

Roads.—During the last twenty years road building has made rapid progress. Metalled highways join the great cities of the north and the south, and traffic by motor vehicles is increasing by leaps and bounds.

Education.—Education is a subject transferred to state governments. The general control over education rests with the Minister in charge of Education in each state. Certain forms of technical education are guided and controlled by the technical departments concerned.

In the Union territories education is under the direct control of the central government. The Government has delegated part of its educational duties and control of higher education and the universities to the University Grants Commission. Boards of secondary and intermediate education, local bodies and some philanthropic and religious societies and organisations deal with school education.

The Central Ministry of Education coordinates standards of university education with the assistance of the University Grants Commission and advises the states on primary and secondary education with the counsel of All-India Councils for primary, secondary and technical education. Education of all grades—from the primary to the highest, as also in technical and professional sections, has made remarkable progress during the last twenty years. In 1946, the percentage of literacy was about 15%; it has risen to about 30%. The number of universities has risen to over 60, and many schools and colleges of technical education have been established.

Cultural Activities.—The people of India in every period of their history have created great treasures of art. Since Independence the Government has done much to stimulate cultural activities. Academies of art (Lalit Kala Akademi), music, drama and dance (Sangeet Kala Akademi) and of literature (Sahitya Akademi) have been established. A National Book Trust has

been founded for the production of good and cheap books in all the languages of India.

Scientific Research.—In 1958, the Government of India formulated the policy to foster, promote and sustain cultivation of science and scientific research in all its aspects. The object of the Government is to ensure adequate supply of research scientists of the highest quality and give ample recognition to their work; to ensure that the creative talents of men and women are encouraged; and to see that scientific and technical knowledge thus acquired is properly utilised.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research was brought into existence, and national laboratories and institutions, Co-operative Research Associations, Atomic Energy Research Department and other institutions were founded.

Health, Medical Relief and Social Welfare.—During the last twenty years the Government of India has devoted much attention to improving the conditions of living of the people and to fighting disease. The result has been a steady improvement in all spheres of life. The expectation of life has increased and the death rate has diminished. Measures have been taken for the prevention and control of many virulent diseases, for instance, malaria, cholera and plague. The numbers of hospitals and dispensaries have increased. Water supply and sanitation have been improved.

With the spread of education and improvement in conditions of living, age-old institutions, such as caste and untouchability and other forms of social inequality, are losing their hold. A society based on equality of opportunity and of rights is gradually emerging. The Indian Constitution is secular, and all citizens, whatever their religion, are equal before the law. Religious differences do not affect the status and position of any Indian; the highest offices are open to talent irrespective of caste and creed.

It has, in short, been the endeavour of the Government in this period to establish social equality and to advance the prosperity of the country in all ways.

(iv) External Affairs

After the Indian Constitution had been proclaimed, the Government had to consider the problem of India's relations with the powers of the world. So far as the United Kingdom was concerned it was decided that India should become a member of the British Commonwealth. To the peoples of countries in Asia and

Africa who were struggling for independence India gave her moral sympathy and support.

With the independent powers of Asia—China, Japan, Iran, Afghanistan, the Arab States and others the Government wished to maintain close relations. Only Pakistan refused to grasp the hand of friendship.

As regards European and American states our attitude was friendly.

We sought the cooperation of all countries in building up the prosperity of our country and in removing our backwardness.

India's policy—to live in peace, to avoid military alliances, and to support the cause of freedom—was greatly appreciated and she played an important part in the deliberations and decisions of the United Nations Organisation in maintaining world peace.

But our relations with China changed when the Chinese occupied some Indian territory in the north-east on the borders of Kashmir and Ladakh. China claimed territory on our northern borders and after occupying Tibet assumed a threatening attitude towards India.

In September 1962, Chinese troops crossed the north-eastern frontier and occupied our lands. But the advance could not be sustained and the Chinese withdrew behind the frontiers.

Since then the Chinese have concentrated a large number of troops on the entire northern border of India. They have also entered into an alliance with Pakistan against India.

Encouraged by the Chinese Pakistan invaded Kashmir and then the Punjab in 1965, but the aggression was defeated.

Apart from these, our relations have been cordial with USSR, USA and UK, who have cooperated with India in its development. The two Germanys, France, Japan and Italy have also supplied us with aid. With Egypt (UAR) and Yugoslavia we maintain very friendly relations.

APPENDIX

The Governors-General (1774-1950)

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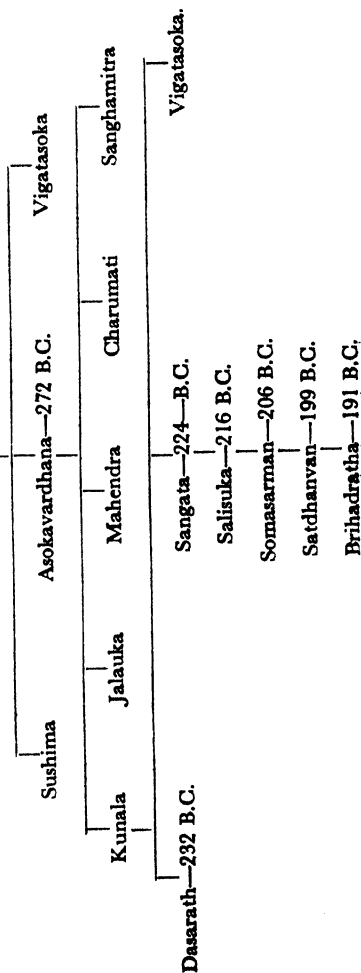
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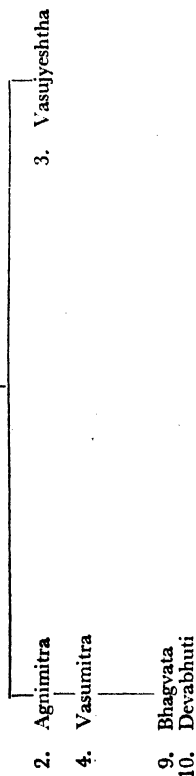
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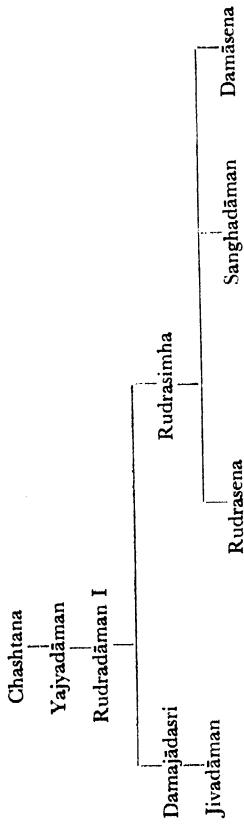
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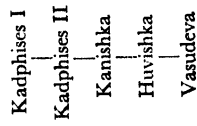
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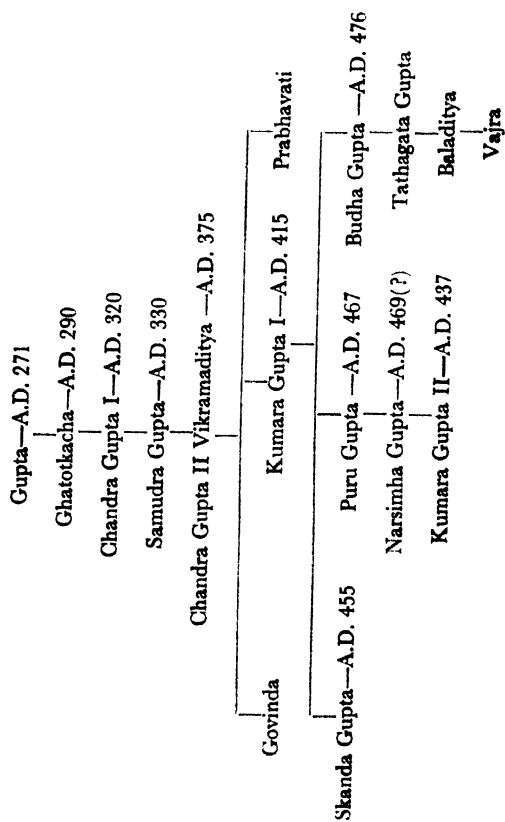
V. SAKAS OF UJJAIN



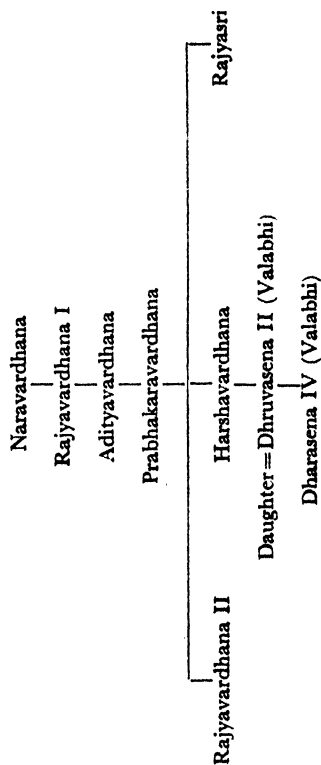
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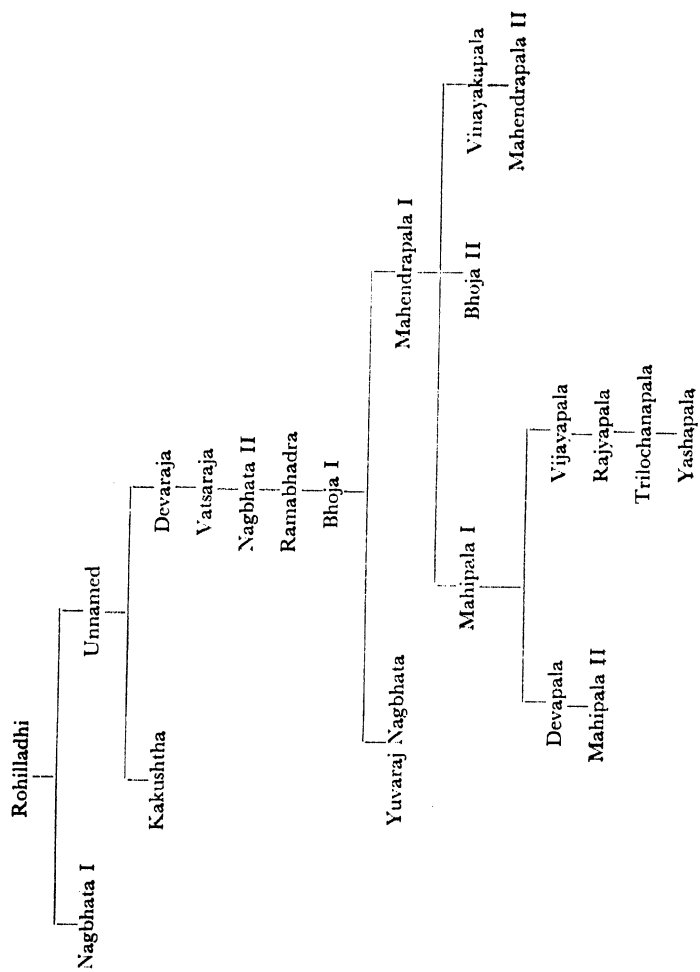
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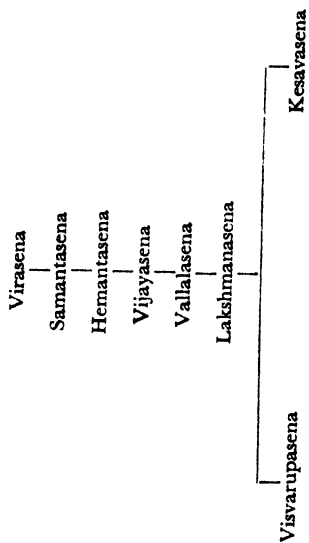
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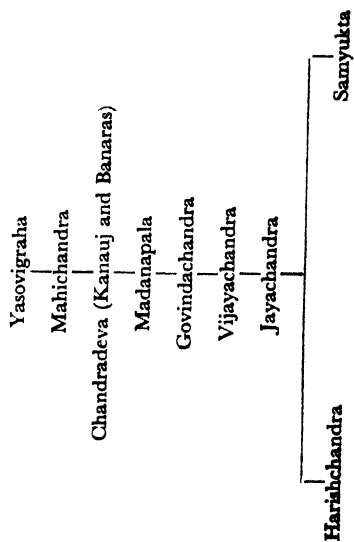
X. THE PALA DYNASTY OF BENGAL



XI. THE SENAS OF BENGAL



XII. THE GAHADVALA DYNASTY OF KANAUJ



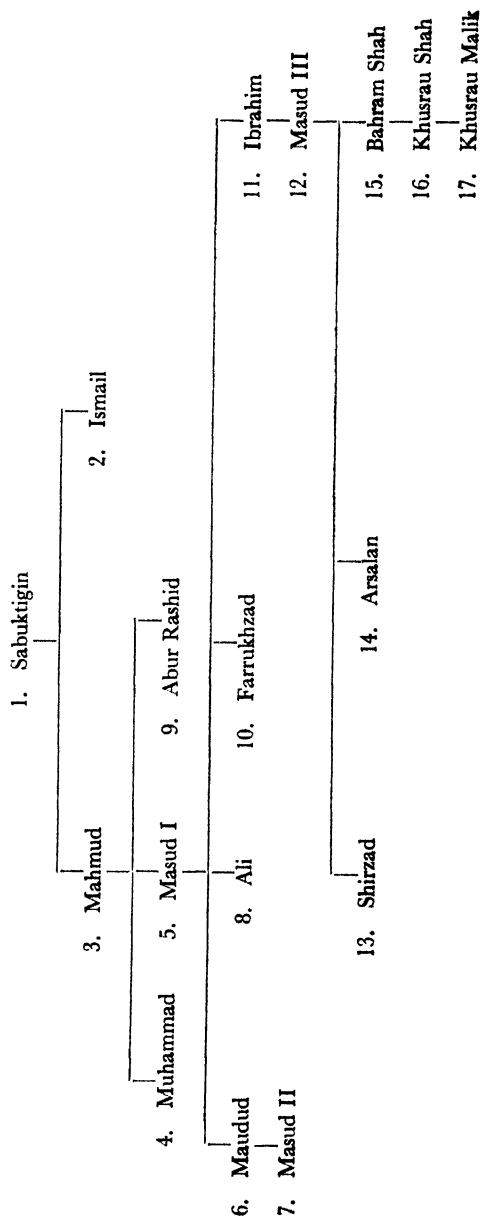
DYNASTIES OF THE DECCAN

CHALUKYAS OF VATAPI, A.D. 550—753			CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI, A.D.—973—1190		
1. Pulakesin I	...	550	1. Tailapa II	...	973
2. Kirtivarman I	...	566-7	2. Satyāśraya	...	997
3. Mangalasa	...	577-8	3. Vikramāditya V	...	1009
4. Pulakesin II	...	608	4. Jayasinha I	...	1016
			5. Somesvara I	...	1042
			6. Somesvara II	...	1075
	Interruption from	624-55	7. Vikramāditya VI	...	1075-76
5. Vikramāditya I	...	655	8. Somesvara III	...	1125
6. Vinayāditya	...	680	9. Perma-Jagadekamallā	...	1138
7. Vijayāditya	...	696	10. Tailapa III	...	1149
8. Vikramāditya II	...	733	11. Somesvara IV	...	1162
9. Kirtivarman II	...	746			

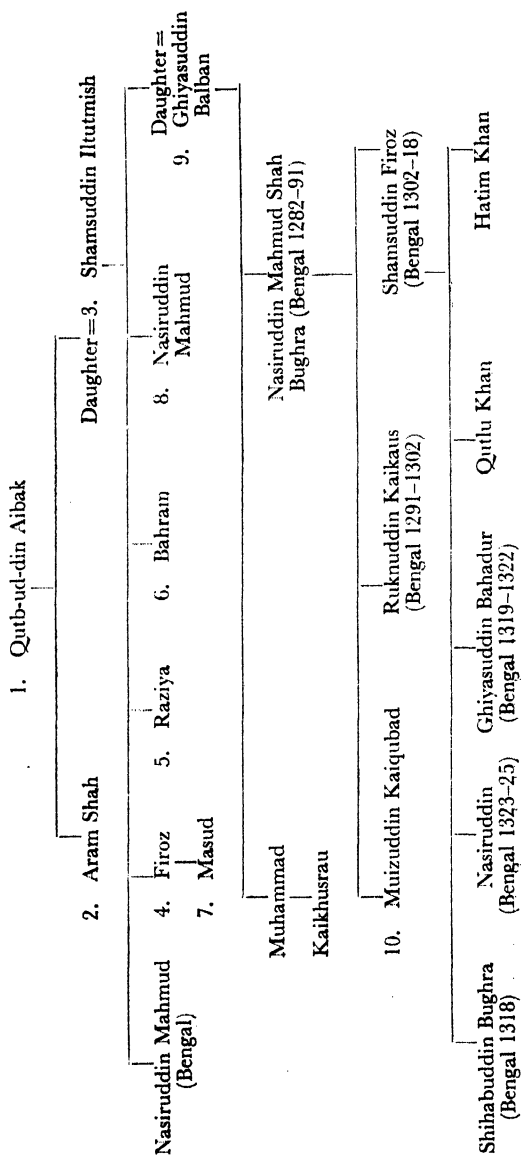
RASHTRAKUTAS OF MANYAKHETA

A.D. 753—973							
1. Dantidurga	753	8. Indra III	...	...	912
2. Krishna I	760	9. Amoghavarsha II	...	...	916
3. Govinda I	775	10. Govinda IV	...	...	917
4. Dhruva	780	11. Amoghavarsha III	...	...	935
5. Govinda II	793	12. Krishna III	...	...	940
6. Amoghavarsha I	815	13. Khotiga	...	...	965
7. Krishna II	880	14. Kakka II	...	...	972

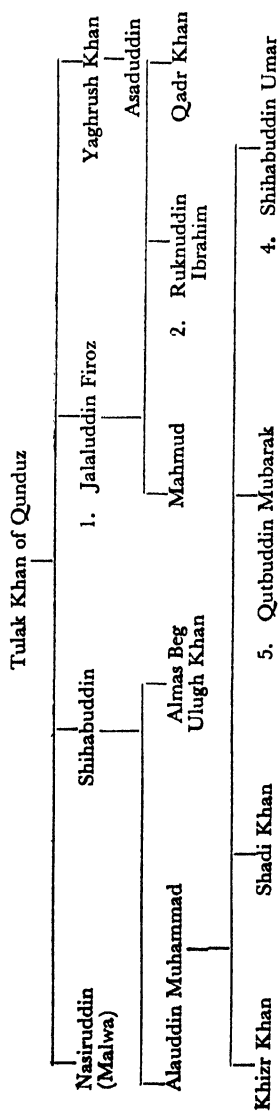
THE GHAZNAVIDES (YAMINI DYNASTY) OF GHAZNI AND LAHORE



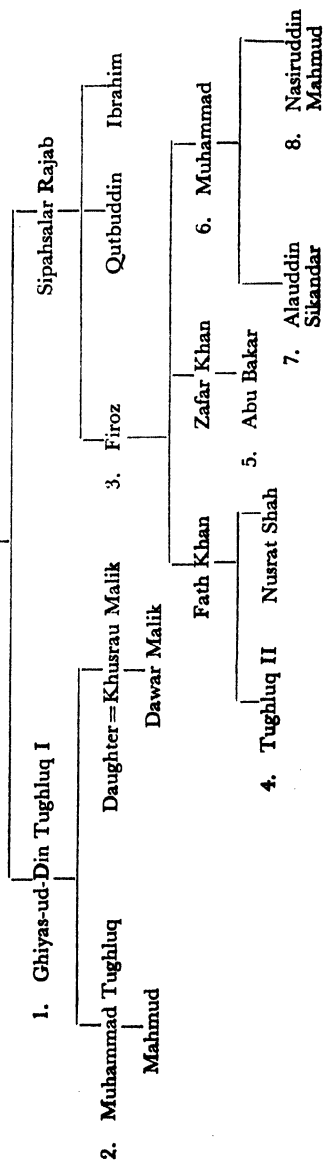
THE SLAVE KINGS OF DELHI



THE KHALJIS



THE TUGHLUQS



THE SAYYIDS

Malik Sulaiman

1. Khizr Khan

2. Muizzuddin
Mubarak

Farid

3. Muhammad

4. Alauddin Alam Shah

THE LODIS

Malik Bahram Lodi

Sultan Shah

Kālā

Firoz

Muhammad

Malik Khvaja

Qutb Khan

Daughter = 1. Buhlal

Shahin Khan

Khvaja Bayazid

Barbak Shah 2. Nizam Khan
(Jaunpur) Sikandar Shah

Mubarak

Alam

Yāqub

Fath Khan

Musa
Jalal Khan

3. Ibrahim

Ismail

Husain

Mahmud

THE PROVINCIAL DYNASTIES

I.—SHARQI KINGS OF JAUNPUR

	A.D.
Malik Sarvar, Khvaja Jahan	... 1394
Mubarak Shah	... 1399
Shamsuddin Ibrahim Shah	... 1402
Mahmud Shah	... 1436
Muhammad Shah	... 1458
Husain Shah	... 1458

1. Khvaja Jahan	
2. Mubarak Shah	3. Shamsuddin Ibrahim Shah
	4. Mahmud Shah
5. Muhammad Shah	6. Husain Shah

II.—THE KINGS OF GUJARAT

	A.D.
Muzaffar I	... 1396
Ahmad I	... 1411
Muhammad I	... 1442
Qutbuddin	... 1451
Daud	... 1458
Mahmud I	... 1458
Muzaffar II	... 1511
Sikandar	... 1526
Mahmud II	... 1526
Bahadur	... 1537
Muhammad II	... 1537
Mahmud III	... 1554
Ahmad II	... 1562-72
Muzaffar III	...

III.—THE KINGS OF MALWA

1. Ghuris,		A.D.
Dilawar Khan Ghuri	...	1392
Hushang Shah	...	1405
Muhammad Shah	...	1435
Masud	...	1436
2. Khaljis,		
Mahmud I	...	1436
Ghiyas-ud-Din	...	1469
Nasiruddin	...	1500
Mahmud II	...	1510-31

(Kings of Gujarat.)

V.—BAHMANI KINGS OF THE
DECCAN

	A.D.		A.D.
Raja Ahmad, Malik Raja	1382	Alauddin Bahman Shah	1347
Nasir Khan	1399	Muhammad I	1358
Adil Khan I	1437	Mujahid	1375
Mubarak Khan Chankanda	1441	Daud	1378
Adil Khan II 'Aina'	1457	Muhammad II	1378
Daud Khan	1501	Ghiyas-ud-Din	1397
Ghazni Khan	1508	Shamsuddin	1397
Hasan Khan	1508	Tajuddin Firoz	1397
Alam Khan (Usurper)	1509	Ahmad Vati	1422
Adil Khan III	1520	Alauddin Ahmad	1436
Miran Muhammad Shah I	1537	Humayun, Talim	1458
Ahmad Shah	1537	Nizam	1461
Mubarak Shah II	1566	Muhammad III, Lashkari	1463
Muhammad Shah II	1576-77	Mahmud	1482
Hasan Shah	1577-78	Ahmad	1518
Adil Shah IV	1597-1601	Alauddin	1521
Bahadur Shah	...	Walullah	1522
		Kalimullah	1525-27
		(Break up into five kingdoms.)	

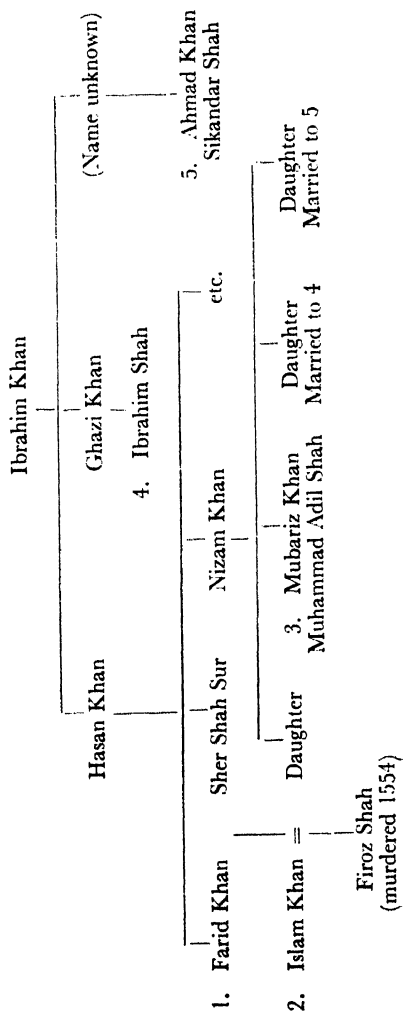
THE FIVE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

I.—THE ADIL SHAHI KINGS OF BIJAPUR			III.—THE QUTB SHAHI KINGS OF GOLKONDA		
		A.D.			A.D.
Yusuf Adil Shah	...	1490	Sultan Quli Qutb Shah	...	1512
Ismail Adil Shah	...	1510	Jamshid Qutb Shah	...	1543
Malu Adil Shah	...	1534	Subhan Quli Qutb Shah	...	1550
Ibrahim Adil Shah I	...	1534	Ibrahim Qutb Shah	...	1550
Ali Adil Shah I	...	1558	Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah	...	1580
Ibrahim Adil Shah II	...	1580	Muhammad Qutb Shah	...	1612
Muhammad Adil Shah	...	1627	Abdullah Qutb Shah	...	1626
Ali Adil Shah II	...	1657	Abul Hasan Qutb Shah	...	1672-87
Sikandar Adil Shah	...	1672-86			
II. THE NIZAM SHAHI KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR			IV. THE IMAD SHAHI KINGS OF BERAR		
		A.D.			A.D.
Ahmad Nizam Shah	...	1490	Fatullah Imad Shah	...	1490
Burhān Nizam Shah	...	1509	Alauddin Imad Shah	...	1504
Husain Nizam Shah I	...	1553	Darya Imad Shah	...	1529
Murtazā Nizam Shah I	...	1565	Burhan Imad Shah	...	1562-74
Husain Nizam Shah II	...	1586		(Incorporated—Ahmadnagar.)	
Ismail Nizam Shah	...	1589			
Burhān Nizam Shah II	...	1591	V. THE BARID SHAHI KINGS OF BIDAR		
Ibrahim Nizam Shah	...	1595	Amir Qasim Barid	...	A.D.
Bahadur Nizam Shah	...	1595	Amir Ali Barid	...	1487
Ahmad (Usurper)	...	1596	Ali Barid Shah I	...	1504
Murtazā Nizam Shah II	...	1603	Ibrahim Barid Shah	...	1542
Husain Nizam Shah III	...	1630-33	Qasim Barid Shah II	...	1579
			Amir Barid Shah	...	1586
			Mirza Ali Barid Shah	...	1589
			Ali Barid Shah II	...	1601
				(Incorporated—Bijapur.)	1609-19

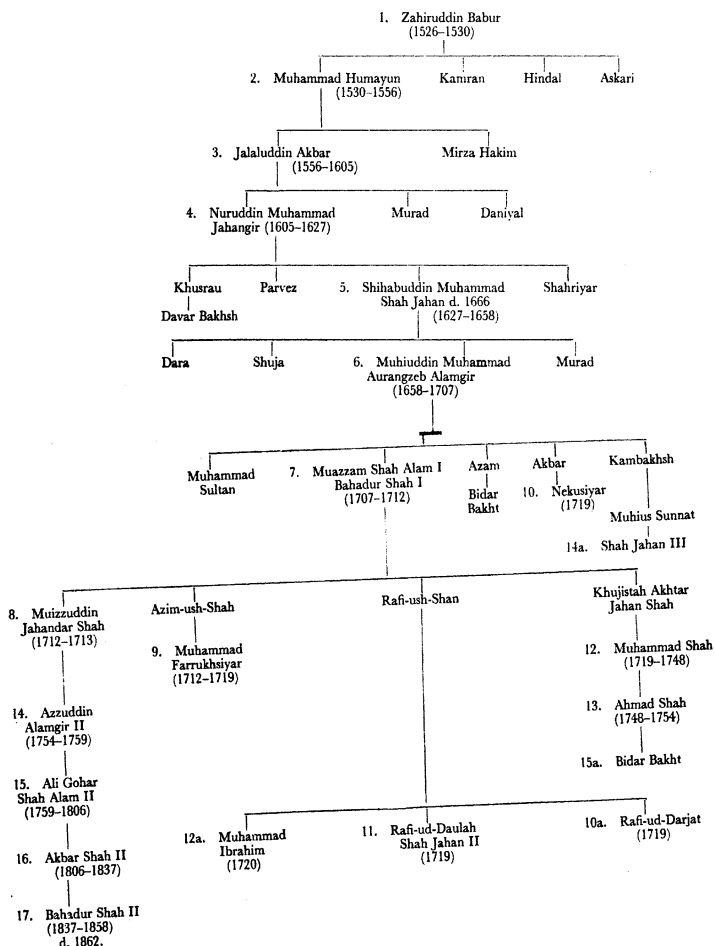
THE KINGS OF BENGAL

E. Bengal only.					
	A.D.				A.D.
Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah	1338	Jalaluddin Fath Shah	...	...	1481
Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah	1349	Barbak the Eunuch, Sultan Shahzada	...	...	1486
		Malik Indil, Firoz Shah	...	...	1486
		Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah	...	...	1489
		Sidi Badr, Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah	...	...	1490
		Saujid Alauddin Husain Sharifi-Mukki	...	...	1493
		Nasiruddin Nurat Shah	...	...	1518
		Alauddin Firoz Shah	...	...	1533
		Sultan Mahmud	...	...	1533
		(Humayun, Emperor of Delhi	...	...	1538)
		(Sher Shah Sur	...	...	1539)
		Khizr Khan	...	...	1540
		Muhammad Khan Sur	...	...	1545
		Khizr Khan, Bahadur Shah	...	...	1555
		Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah	...	...	1561
		(Son of Jalal Shah	...	...	1564)
		Raj Khan Kararani	...	...	1564
		Sulaman Kararani	...	...	1572
		Bayazid Khan Kararani	...	...	1572
		Daud Khan Kararani	...	...	1572-76
W. Bengal only.					
	A.D.				
Alauddin Ali Shah	1341				
Haji Shamsuddin Ilyas Bhagara	1343				
Sikandar Shah	1357				
Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah	1393				
Saifuddin Hamza	1410				
Shihabuddin Bayazid	1412				
Ganesh of Bhadura (Kans Narayan)	1414				
Jadu <i>alias</i> Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah	1414				
Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah	1431				
Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah	1442				
Ruknuddin Barbak Shah	1460				
Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah	1474				
Sikandar Shah	1481				

THE SUR KINGS OF DELHI—A.D. 1540-55

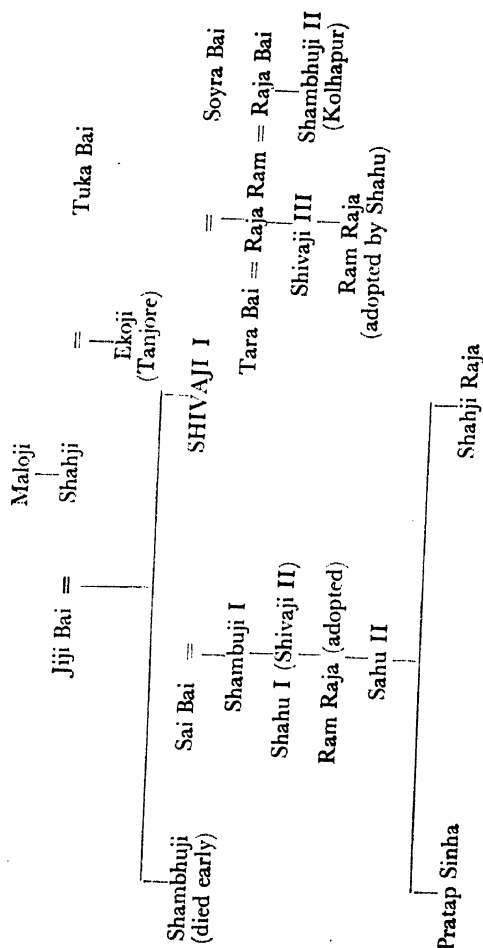


THE TIMURID DYNASTY (THE MUGHALS OF DELHI AND AGRA)

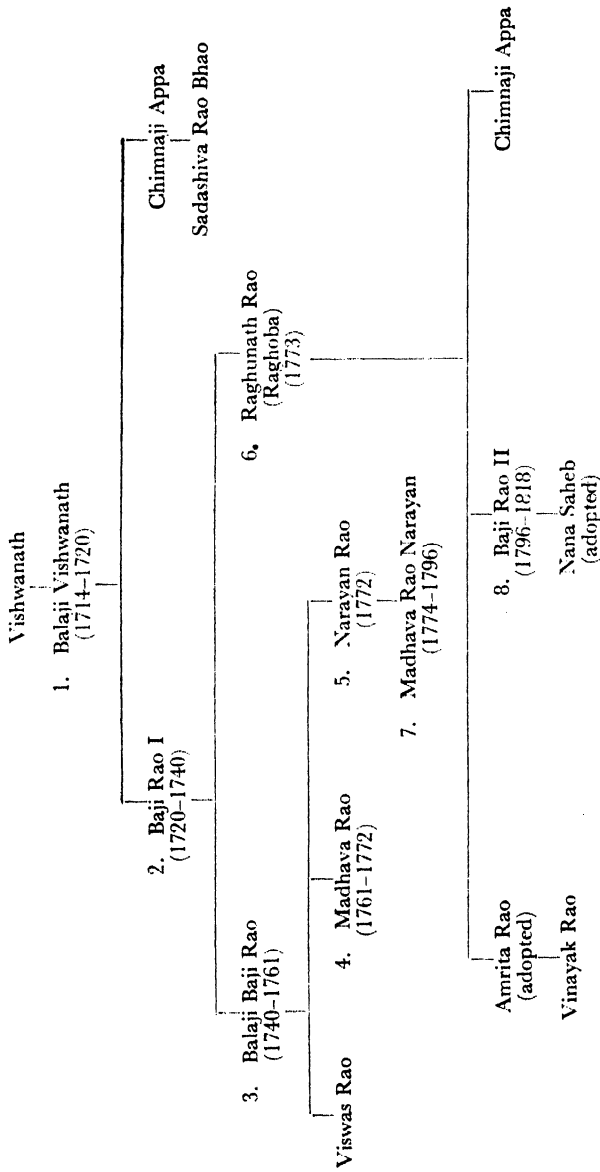


THE MARATHAS

THE BHONSLA CHHATRAPATI (RAJAS OF SATARA)



THE PESHWAS OF POONA



(Temporary and Officiating underlined)

			A.D.
1.	Warren Hastings	...	1774—1785
	(<u>Sir John Macpherson</u>)	...	1785—1786)
2.	Earl Cornwallis	...	1786—1793
3.	Sir John Shore	...	1793—1798
	(<u>Sir A. Clarke</u>)	...	1798)
4.	Marquess Wellesley	...	1798—1805
5.	Marquess Cornwallis	...	1805—July to October
	(<u>Sir George Barlow</u>)	...	1805—1807)
6.	Lord Minto	...	1807—1813
7.	Marquess of Hastings	...	1813—1823
	(<u>John Adam</u>)	...	1823—January to August)
8.	Lord Amherst	...	1823—1828
	(<u>William Butterworth Bayley</u>)	...	1828—March to July)
9.	Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck	...	1828—1835
	(<u>Sir Charles Metcalfe</u>)	...	1835—1836)
10.	Lord Auckland	...	1836—1842
11.	Lord Ellenborough	...	1842—1844
	(<u>William Wilberforce Bird</u>)	...	1844—June-July)
12.	Viscount Henry Hardinge	...	1844—1848
13.	Marquess of Dalhousie	...	1848—1856
14.	Earl Canning	...	1856—1858

GOVERNORS-GENERAL AND VICEROYS

	Earl Canning	...	1858—1862
15.	Earl of Elgin	...	1862—1863
	(<u>Sir W. T. Denison</u>)	...	1863—1864)
16.	Sir John Lawrence	...	1864—1869
17.	Earl of Mayo	...	1869—1872
	(<u>Sir John Strachey</u>)	...	1872)
	(<u>Lord Napier of Merchistoun</u>)	...	1872)
18.	Earl of Northbrook	...	1872—1876
19.	Earl of Lytton	...	1876—1880
20.	Marquess of Ripon	...	1880—1884
21.	Earl of Dufferin	...	1884—1888
22.	Marquess of Lansdowne	...	1888—1894
23.	Earl of Elgin II	...	1894—1899
24.	Earl of Curzon of Kedleston	...	1899—1905
	(<u>Lord Amphill</u>)	...	1904)
25.	Earl of Minto II	...	1905—1910
26.	Lord Hardinge	...	1910—1916
27.	Lord Chelmsford	...	1916—1921

				A.D.
28.	Earl of Reading	...	...	1921—1926
	<u>(Lord Lytton)</u>	...	...	1925)
29.	Lord Irwin	...	...	1926—1931
	<u>(Lord Goschen)</u>	...	...	1929)
30.	Lord Willingdon	...	...	1931—1936
31.	Lord Linlithgow	...	...	1936—1943
32.	Lord Wavell	...	...	1943—1947
	<u>(Sir John Colville)</u>	...	...	1945)
33.	Lord Mountbatten	...	...	1947—1948
34.	Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari	...	...	1948—50

THE PRESIDENTS

1.	Dr. Rajendra Prasad	1950—62
2.	Dr. S. Radhakrishnan	1962—67
3.	Dr. Zakir Husain	1967—69
4.	Dr. V. V. Giri	1969—

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